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T H E

T H E A T R E,

By Sir RICHARD STEELE.

WITH

THE ANTI-THEATRE, &c.



175593.

15, 11. 22

Hail, mighty Name! of all thy pen
 Has dropt, to charm both gods and men,
 Time nor Oblivion ne'er shall boast
 One line or single period lost!

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1791

T H E
T H E A T R E,
B Y
SIR RICHARD STEELE;
TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
THE ANTI-THEATRE;
THE CHARACTER of Sir JOHN EDGAR;
STEELE'S CASE with the LORD CHAMBERLAIN;
THE CRISIS OF PROPERTY,
WITH THE SEQUEL,
TWO PASQUINS, &c. &c.
ILLUSTRATED WITH
LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ANECDOTES
By JOHN NICHOLS.

L O N D O N:

Printed by and for the EDITOR;

And sold by G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, Pater-noster Row;
J. WALTER, Charing-crofs; and C. DILLY, in the Poultry.

MDCXC1.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IF the present Effays require any apology, it is for the publication having been so long delayed. Their own excellence, and their internal proofs of authenticity, sufficiently justify the propriety of introducing them in a collected form. The THEATRES, we have the authority of a worthy PRELATE for asserting, were even in the state of single numbers bought up with such avidity, that complete setts were not to be purchased; and neither STEELE'S health nor his inclination permitted him to take the trouble of collecting them. The ANTI-THEATRES are at least a foil to the productions of our Hero; and the other

parts of the present Volume, particularly STEELE's State of the Case between himself and the Duke of NEWCASTLE as Lord Chamberlain, and his admirable Papers on the SOUTH SEA Bubble, have too much sterling merit to need the adventitious commendation of an Editor.

Oct. 15, 1791.

J. N.

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T H E
T H E A T R E.

By Sir J O H N E D G A R.

To be continu'd every TUESDAY and SATURDAY.

N^o 1. SATURDAY, *January 2, 1719-20**.

*Admiranda tibi levium spectacula rerum,
Magnanimosque duces, totiusque ordine Gentis
Mores, & studia, & populos, & praelia dicam.*

VIRG. Georg. iv. 3.

— that sings }
' Embattled squadrons and adventurous kings : }
' A mighty pomp, though made of little things. }
' Their Arms, their Arts, their Manners, I disclose,
' And how the War, and whence the People rose.'

DRYDEN.

IN the beginning of a Work which I design to publish twice a week, it is necessary to explain myself to the Town, and make them

“ Sir R. STEELE publishes twice a week a new paper, called THE THEATRE, written in the spirit of the old TATLERS; though it is pretty hard for a man to keep up a spirit in distress.” Dr RUNDLE to Mrs. SANDYS, March 24, 1719-20.—“ I am sorry I could not get you a whole set of THEATRES; the very best are wanting. The demand for them was so great, that even his fiercest enemies bought them up, and enjoyed the Author, while they persecute the Man.” Dr. RUNDLE to Mrs. SANDYS, in April or May, 1720. † Price 2d.

B

under-

understand why I attempt to entertain them under this Title. When I have informed my Reader that I am in the *sixty-first* * year of my age, and have been induced to frequent the Theatre by the persuasion of my Son; it will, perhaps, raise attention and curiosity to know what are the particular circumstances which make the Father ductile to his Child, instead of the Son's governing himself by the example of his Father.

I have always abhorred living at a distance with him, and ever gave him his freedom in all his words and actions, so that I have seldom expostulated with him concerning them; but, of late years, observed him mighty conversant at the Theatre, and living in occasional familiarity with the chief Actors. This turn was so particular, that I enquired what he could find thus delightful to him among persons singularly remarked to their disadvantage. He begged of me (as I had formerly advised him) to judge for myself in those matters, and prevailed with me to go with him to the Play very frequently; where I soon recovered the taste I had had for those entertainments in my youth, and reflected that this, above all other diversions, was proper and pleasing rather to the young, or old, than to the middle-aged. The middle of our days, thought I, is generally taken up in the hurry and eagerness of business; but the

* Our Author was at this time about ten years younger than the character he assumes.

days we pass before we mingle with the world, and after we are retired from it, are the seasons wherein Plays well acted give greatest pleasure. Young men learn from the Stage the knowledge of that world they are scarcely yet acquainted with : old men look back on the road which they have passed through with equal delight and satisfaction.

My Son HARRY is a gentleman of a discernment above his years, and affects the company of elder men : he has a vivacity in his manner, and a good-natured quickness of spirit, that renders him very agreeable to his acquaintance. When he comes into a room, I have observed the company look upon him with the aspect which people usually have, when one enters from some place whence they expect news. His manner is uncommon, and his thoughts on any subject give that sort of pleasure which we receive by fresh intelligence from some scene of action. His imagination dispenses new reflexions on any subject; and he is always a great addition to the entertainment by the pleasant and peculiar relish he has of it.

This boy of mine, who brought me back to the Play-house, is as proud of his *good-humoured old man*, as the pert thing calls me, as I am of him; and never makes a new acquaintance, though with a young Lady, but the first thing he promises is, that the party shall be acquainted with his Father. He has introduced me to a particular friend of his, a

Lady of great quality and merit, with whom, and her visitants, I am often very well entertained; and the THEATRE is no small part of our conversation. SOPHRONIA, for that shall be her name, is, according to the course of nature, in a stage of this life not far from a better being, but under no manner of decay as to her senses and understanding. From experience, added to her great wit and good-humour, you would take her, by her discourse, to be only a very wise young woman. She has always encouraged Theatrical diversions, and admitted the eminent performers (from HART* and MOHUN*, to those of our time) to her presence and conversation, and has a very excellent taste both of the composition and performance of a good play.

At this Lady's house, Elegance and Decency, not Licentiousness and Luxury, are consulted as the most inviting entertainments of the company that meet there. There is a purity in
their

* "It is to be lamented," says Mr. DAVIES, "that we have no memoirs or relations of these two great Actors, but what can be gathered from DOWN'S, and some traditional scraps and slight notices of poets and critics. Their rank in life, having both been honoured with commands in the army, placed them above their fellows." Kymer, the celebrated critic and historiographer, has applauded them highly, for their wonderful power of fixing the attention of the audience, and speaking to them as much by action as utterance. Mohun was particularly remarkable for the dignity of his deportment and graceful manner of treading the stage. The Earl of Rochester reproaches

their manners, and a kind of chastity in their very dress: their mirth has no noise, their joy little laughter; but freedom is bounded by respect, and their familiarity rendered more agreeable by good-breeding. A romp would there look like a prostitute; and a rake would be as terrible as a ruffian.

There are but very few of either sex who are capable of being well pleased at her Assemblies; for, as it is said, the vicious could not be happy, were they to be translated to Heaven; so (with reverence in the comparison) may I aver, that the ordinary people of fashion would be there very much at a loss; and those, who pass for fine Gentlemen and Ladies in other

proaches the comedians of the Duke of York's company for their vain attempts to ape his excellences, and ridiculing his defects, the consequences of age and infirmity. The action of Hart, in *Catiline*, was universally applauded; and this contributed to keep alive what otherwise would have soon been lost to the public.—‘Hart's action,’ said the critic, Rymer, ‘could throw a lustre on the most wretched characters; and he so far dazzled the eyes of the spectator by it, that the deformities of the poet could not be discerned.’ The period in which they flourished was that which immediately followed the Restoration; but Mr Davies, who in his “*Dramatic Miscellanies*” has preserved some curious anecdotes of them both, could neither discover when they were born, nor when they died. They were both great favourites of the king and courtiers. Sometimes, we must suppose, an emulation would be excited from a comparison made of their several excellencies. Charles, on seeing the performance of both in a new play, observed to his courtiers, that Mohun, or Moon, as he pronounced it, shone, that day, like the sun, and Hart like the moon.

conversations, would be, in the apartment of SOPHRONIA, uninformed savages.

Deviation from reason and good sense is there the only error; and uninstructed innocence is pitied and assisted, while studied faults and assumed singularities are banished or discountenanced. The more constant companions of this illustrious Lady are FLAVIA, a very docile and ingenious Maiden; LYSETTA, a Widow, who (though not past her youth) is such, in an abstinence from all the vain and ostentatious pleasures of life; and SOPHONISBA, a dependent relation, who frequently reads to her. There are many others, who are at less important seasons admitted. SOPHRONIA and her three friends are great patronesses and advocates for the THEATRE; and I shall from time to time give an account of their sentiments relating to it, both as to the characters personated, and the skill of the persons who perform them; the Ladies, who are not of her intimacy, will give us their different sentiments; by which means we shall have opportunity to give an account of the false or true taste of the Town.

It is therefore from the generous concern of SOPHRONIA, that I am prevailed upon to undertake (in this public manner) the preservation and improvement of the *English* THEATRE. It is certainly, when well regulated, a most liberal and ingenuous diversion; and I doubt not but I shall bring the world into my opinion, that the profession of an Actor, who in the other

part of his conduct is irreproachable, ought to receive the kind treatment and esteem which the world is ready to pay all other Artists. Their necessary talents and qualifications will support me in asking for them the regards due to inoffensive men, if nothing more favourable than their bare due must be allowed them. But I will fortify what I say, as a new and unknown Author, by what I remember has fallen from the greatest Writer of Antiquity.

TULLY, the great Orator and Politician, perfectly skilled in human life, observes in his "Offices," that persons are to be esteemed gentle or servile, according as the arts and capacities in which they are employed are liberal or mechanic. He esteems those liberal in which the faculties of the mind are chiefly employed; and those mechanic, in which the body is the more laborious part. From this description and authority I take leave to say, that the ordinary world gives the profession of an Actor very unjust discountenance: for, if there be no objection against what the Orator says, that men are to be considered from their abilities only, let their severest enemies name the profession which requires qualifications for the practice of it more elegant, more manly, more generous, or more ornamental, than that of a just and pleasing Actor.

I shall not make my entry with too loud a voice, but keep within the compass of it, when I prefer the present British Stage to any other

now in Europe; nor shall I fear in my following Discourses to aver, that it will not be the fault of the persons concerned in it, if it does not arrive at as great Perfection as was ever known in Greece or Rome.

LONDON: Printed for W. CHETWOOD*, under *Tom's Coffee-house* in *Covent-Garden*; J. ROBERTS†, near the *Oxford Arms* in *Warwick-lane*; and CHARLES LILLIE‡, at the *Corner of Beaufort-Buildings* in the *Strand*. Where *Advertisements* are taken in, and complete Setts may be had§.

* WILLIAM RUFUS CHETWOOD, whilst he carried on the profession of a Bookseller, was for 23 years Prompter to Drury Lane Theatre, and acquitted himself with much credit in that employment. We learn from the "Biographia Dramatica," that Mr. CHETWOOD, though himself no Actor, from his attention to the Stage, became no bad theatrical instructor, many excellent performers having profited much by his assistance; among others, Mr. BARRY and Mrs. FITZHENRY (Mr. DAVIES adds, MACKLIN). By his first wife Mr. CHETWOOD had a daughter, who was bred to the Theatre. His second wife was a grand-daughter of COLLEY CIBBER. He was in 1760 a prisoner for debt at Dublin, where a Play was acted for his benefit; and is supposed to have died soon after.

† JAMES ROBERTS was a printer of much eminence. He died Nov. 2, 1754, aged 85.

‡ The name of LILLIE, of great celebrity in the days of the SPECTATOR, was dropt in the four next succeeding Numbers; but resumed at N^o VI.

§ This last clause seems particular in the FIRST Number of a Work; and the more so, as it is omitted in many of the subsequent Papers.

N^o 2. TUESDAY, *January 5, 1719-20.*

Tutatur favor Euryalum, lacrymaque decora.

VIRG. *Æn.* v. 343.

‘ But favour for Euryalus appears ;
 ‘ His blooming beauty, with his tender years,
 ‘ Had brib’d the judges——’ DRYDEN.

I COULD not expect the first interruption of a design in favour of the Stage should come from the persons themselves who are chiefly concerned in it : but the following Letter will shew the Reader whether I am right or not, in being zealous for their welfare. I will therefore offer it to his perusal, before I make any observations upon it.

“ To Sir JOHN EDGAR.

“ SIR, It will perhaps be matter of surprize,
 “ that the first person who declares against
 “ your Paper, called the THEATRE, should be
 “ a Comedian. Not that I think our whole
 “ society can sufficiently acknowledge the ge-
 “ nerosity of your design : but, Sir, your set-
 “ ting out so warmly in favour of us, and our
 “ profession, carries such an air of defiance to a
 “ great

“ great part of the Town, that we are afraid it
“ will rather alarm, and rouze the ill-will of
“ our enemies, than soften them into our in-
“ terest, or recommend us to their encourage-
“ ment; and as it would be the utmost ingra-
“ titude, not to own the boundless favour of
“ our Auditors, so we cannot but think that
“ any attempt to heighten our merit, or make
“ us objects of admiration, would but raise a
“ suspicion, from a presumed correspondence
“ between you and us, that we ourselves are
“ arrogant enough to think that we have am-
“ ply deserved all that has or can be done for
“ us. Now such an imagination infused into
“ some people might be of dangerous conse-
“ quence, and it therefore concerns us to dis-
“ avow the favours you seem to intend us. We
“ are sensible of many defects, which the can-
“ dour of our Audiences has often excused;
“ and we boast of no merit but our care and
“ diligence; the want of which has (in our
“ own memory) been the ruin of much better
“ Actors. Now, Sir, if what is said cannot
“ persuade you to lay aside your design, at least
“ give us leave to warn you of what may hurt
“ us. You cannot but be sensible, Sir, that the
“ English Actors stand upon a more precarious
“ foot than persons of any other profession
“ whatever; nay, than even Actors themselves
“ do in any other country. Our neighbours
“ the French, it is true, are under absolute
“ power, but then they are under absolute pro-
“ tection:

“ tectio: here our Audiences are often dis-
 “ turbed by the caprice of two or three unruly
 “ people; nay, here the very *Footmen* give
 “ laws to their masters, and will not suffer any
 “ one but themselves to be heard, till they are
 “ easy in their places, though they never pay
 “ for them *. In France no one in a livery
 “ is admitted, even for his money; and all cla-
 “ mour, as hissings, and the like annoyance, is
 “ not only shameful, but criminal. But this
 “ particular happiness of our French brethren
 “ is owing to the same power that makes their

* This evil, some years after, grew to such an enorm-
 ous height, as to work its own cure. On the 5th of May,
 1737, the Footmen, on account of their rudeness, having
 been denied admission into the gallery which till then had
 been appropriated for their use, a body of 300 of them,
 armed with offensive weapons, broke open the door of
 Drury Lane Theatre, and, forcibly obtruding themselves
 on the Stage, wounded 25 persons. The Prince and
 Princess of Wales, with some other of the Royal Family,
 were in the House at the time. Colonel de Veil, who was
 also present, after attempting in vain to read the riot-act,
 caused some of the ringleaders to be seized, and 30 of
 them were sent to Newgate. On this occasion, Mr. Fleet-
 wood, the then Manager, received the following letter:
 “ Sir, we are willing to admonish you before we attempt
 “ our design; and persuaded you will use us civil, and ad-
 “ mit us into our gallery, which is our property, accord-
 “ ing to formalities; and if you think proper to come to
 “ a composition this way, you’ll hear no farther; and, if
 “ you do not, our intention is to combine in a body *in-*
 “ *cognito*, and reduce the Playhouse to the ground: valu-
 “ ing no detection. We are indemnified.” But a guard
 of 50 soldiers being appointed for several nights, the Foot-
 men made no further attempts.

“ fellow-

“ fellow-subjects a miserable people : and while
 “ we are sure our defenceless condition is owing
 “ to that liberty which makes every other
 “ Englishman happy, it alleviates our distress.
 “ Now, Sir, we being more at the mercy, even
 “ of the lowest people, than any other of his
 “ Majesty’s subjects ; how much nearer does it
 “ concern us to have a stricter guard upon our
 “ general behaviour ! If there are peculiar me-
 “ rits requisite to make an accomplished Actor,
 “ let us leave it to the world to make the ob-
 “ servation, and be thankful for whatever they
 “ think we have deserved : for let who will
 “ plead ever so learnedly in our behalf, yet the
 “ pure will and pleasure of the Publick must at
 “ last determine upon our merit ; thither only
 “ must we fly for grace or favour, and from
 “ their sentence there can be no appeal. But
 “ if, after I have taken all this liberty, you can
 “ be still so partial to us as to proceed ; if you
 “ can persuade yourself to be as cautious for
 “ us, as we are fearful for ourselves ; if at any
 “ time you will remind us of faults, that are
 “ in our power to correct ; if, for our sakes,
 “ you will offend nobody that may revenge it
 “ upon us ; we shall be glad to see you at a
 “ Rehearsal, where perhaps you may collect
 “ such materials as may conduce to your de-
 “ sign, and put our enemies into good humour.
 “ I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

“ DRAMATIS PERSONA.”

The

The terror with which Mr. DRAMATIS PERSONA pleads against my warmth, even in his own defence, at once demonstrates the distress the THEATRE is under for want of an advocate, and at the same time how much it deserves one. Let any man who understands conversation or business, that lives among knowing men, either in public or private life, consider the difficulties we are usually under, in executing any part that naturally is our duty, and requires only acting in publick what is demanded of us in our ordinary characters and functions; I say, let any one reflect on this, and he will account for the concern and confusion in which an Actor must behold an Auditor stir up any new reflexion or thought in his old adversaries, the vulgar, the unthinking, and the boisterous; who have it in their power, by noise or clamour (while he is to perform what is foreign to himself), to disconcert and push him out of a personated character of liveliness and mirth, into his private one of grief and dejection; and yet, perhaps, in two minutes it shall be expected that he shall be enough himself to assume the person, whom (even to please his oppressors) he is still obliged to represent. This consideration is enough to gain him the favour and protection of reasonable men, though perhaps it may require time to turn the edge of youths of false fire, natural wickedness, and warm blood, so far as to look in upon themselves, and see how much they have wanted, and ought to learn,
humanity.

humanity. In hopes, therefore, that this may one day be brought about, I shall proceed in my work, and only give such boisterous visitants of the THEATRE a short fable of Æsop.

“ There was a large pool of water, in which
 “ lay many logs of wood, and which was inha-
 “ bited by a numberless generation of frogs :
 “ the boys, in the neighbourhood, took great
 “ delight in running upon these beams of tim-
 “ ber, and by shaking them under their feet,
 “ and throwing stones into the pond, killed the
 “ poor animals (who knew not how to defend
 “ themselves) as fast as they appeared above
 “ water. At length one of the wisest and
 “ boldest of the frogs held up his head, and
 “ cried out, ‘ Children, children, this may be
 “ sport to you, but it is death to us !”

The humour in which people go to Plays is generally that of leisure and indolence * ; and the entertainment gives them such a notion of levity and cheerfulness in the performers, that they have not the same idea of their laborious life, as they have of the application of other useful people, whose business does not require half the sense and diligence to be masters of it. They do not consider, that readiness, alacrity, spirit, and disengagement from themselves, are in no one station of life so indispensably necessary, as in the duty of an accomplished Actor ;

* “ In the THEATRE, nothing is necessary to the
 “ amusement of two hours, but to sit down and be wil-
 “ ling to be pleased.” IDLER, N° XXV.

and

and that if all these uncommon qualities are not summoned, and about him, at a certain hour, his interest and reputation are lost at once; for he cannot even subsist without being always in a readiness to place himself in his best appearance: painful the task, and incumbent only on the undervalued Player!

But I will not despair of softening the disposition of the world in this particular. When I say this, I comfort myself with the consideration, that the THEATRE is a pleasure more particularly adapted to the BRITISH genius; and the excellence of our Writers in this kind shews that we are formed for it above all other people.

Nations are known, as well as private persons, by their pleasures; and the general inclination cannot be understood by any circumstance so well as by their diversions. In *France* they are delighted either with low and fantastical Farces, or tedious declamatory Tragedies. Their best Plays are chiefly recommended by a rigid affectation of regularity, within which the genius is cramped and fettered, so as to waste all its force in struggling to perform a work not to be gracefully executed under that restraint; they fall into the absurdity of thinking it more masterly to do little or nothing in a short time, than to invade the rules of time and place, to adorn their Plays with greatness and variety: thus they are finical and mechanic, when they would highly please; and when they labour
for

for admiration, they have it for performing what they might have better deserved if they had neglected.

It is still worse in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and their Stage cannot be supported without even Superstition. It is ordinary there to take their subjects from the Holy Scriptures; and nothing so common as to see *Saints* and *Angels* the persons of their *Drama*.

Among us, there is no part in human life but in one Play or other is represented with propriety and dignity, from the greatest prince, to the meanest slave; and often the same great spirit in one character running through all the changes of fortune. The hero is opposed to the crafty man, the man of pleasure to the man of business: persons of all conditions and characters are mingled together on the Stage, as they are (from the freedom of our Government) in real life. If the Stage may proceed in its improvement, there may soon, by a right choice of proper Plays, and the utter rejection of others, be established such representations as may give a man, from an evening spent at the Play-house, all the pleasures and advantages which he could reap from having been so long in the very best conversation.

My design therefore is, since the Government has thought fit to establish a THEATRE, to make it deserve its encouragement; and I shall endeavour to enable the proprietors of it to make their representations as beneficial, and instructive,

tive, as they are delightful to the people. I am to declare at the same time, that though by the name of this Paper I seem to confine my labours to the service of the Theatre only, I shall with the same spirit and industry employ my pen on any other subject, whenever the service of my country shall call upon me. Nor ought this to appear a deviation from my first subject; for as the Stage is a representation of the World, so is the World but a more extended Stage; and every body who knows that World, is sensible there are very many more *personated* than *real* characters in it. I shall think it therefore a good amusement to shew people in all parts of life, from my age and experience, when they are out, and transgress their character. If those of the World will not take gentle admonition, I shall bring them upon the Stage; if those of the Stage will not be easily reprehended, I shall expose them to the World; with which edict, as AUDITOR-GENERAL OF THE REAL AND IMAGINARY THEATRES, I end my Second Paper*.

* The publication of the THEATRE brought upon our Author an host of adversaries; among whom the most furious was JOHN DENNIS, whose "Character and Conduct of Sir JOHN EDGAR" shall be reprinted in the present volume.—"The ANTI-THEATRE," here reprinted, was a fair attack, made with complacency and good manners. Another opponent was Sir ANDREW ARTLOVE, knight and baronet, who figured away, for three weeks only, in "APPLEBEE'S Original Weekly Journal." The last of these Writers took occasion to censure STEELE frequently in a paper in the same Journal, which he called "The Muse's Gazette." A specimen of both these shall be given hereafter.

N° 3. SATURDAY, *January* 9, 1719-20.

—*Hic dantem jura Catonem.*

VIRG. *Æn.* viii. 670.

“Whilst Cato gives his little Senate Laws.”

UPON my producing my second Paper at SOPHRONIA's tea-table, the ladies had the goodness to express a delight, in that they now began to be convinced of my being determined to go on with the work. And in order to it, I had leave to lay before them a new scheme for the government of the public diversions. I told them, that it had long been a great cause of distress to the Actors, to know who were properly the Town, and who not; they having been often under the nicest perplexities, from the very different opinions of people of quality and condition.

There is, they tell me, scarce any Play put up in their bills, or that they propose to revive, but has as much the dislike of some as the approbation of others, even before it comes on, and that the same happens in most of their private affairs. Whenever they fall into public company, it is very difficult to preserve that deference due to the opinion of their superiors, and at the same time to pursue their own measures, and what their experience convinces them will most probably contribute to the public entertainment.

tainment. Therefore, that the Players may be better justified in what they shall do hereafter, I have propos'd,

1. That a select number of persons shall be chosen as real representatives of a BRITISH audience.

2. These persons so elected shall be styled "AUDITORS OF THE DRAMA."

3. No persons to have free voices in these elections, but such as shall produce certificates from the respective Door-keepers of the Theatre, that they never refused to pay for their places.

4. The Players shall chuse two of their own Society, *viz.* one male, and one female, to take care of their interest, and for the better information of these AUDITORS in matters immediately relating to their customs and private œconomy.

5. One DRAMATIC Poet to serve for the *Liberties of Parnassus*; to be chosen only by Tragic or Comic Writers.

6. Three of the FAIR SEX shall represent the *Front-boxes* *.

7. Two GENTLEMEN OF WIT AND PLEASURE, for the *Side-boxes*.

8. Three substantial CITIZENS for the *Pit*.

* The Ladies at this time always sat in the Front, the Gentlemen in the Side-boxes. This circumstance will explain two lines in the "Rape of the Lock;"

' Why round our coaches crowd the white-glov'd beaux?

' Why bows the *Side-box* from its inmost rows?

9. One LAWYER'S CLERK, and one VALET-DE-CHAMBRE, for the *First-gallery*. One JOURNEYMAN BAKER for the *Upper-gallery*.

10. And one FOOTMAN that can write and read shall be *Mercury to the board*.

11. This Body, so chosen, shall have full power, in the right of the Audiences of Great Britain, to approve, condemn, or rectify, whatever shall be exhibited on the English Theatre.

And the Players, guiding themselves by *their* laws, shall not be accountable to, or controuled by, any other opinions or suggestions whatever, nor ever appeal from the judgements of these duly elected Auditors. Provided notwithstanding, that any daily spectators shall have reserved to them, and their successors for ever, their full right of applauding or disliking the performance of any particular Actor, whenever his care or negligence shall appear to deserve either the one or the other: but in matters merely relating to the conduct of the Theatre, the said elected Auditors, from time to time, shall be deemed able, and to have right, to give laws for ever.

This scheme was approved by the whole assembly at the Lady SOPHRONIA'S; and they desired me accordingly to appoint the day of the election of Auditors. I am therefore to acquaint the Town, that due notice shall be given of some Play to be acted, after which the Audience will proceed to chuse Representatives for the BRITISH THEATRE, by way of ballot; which
every

every door-keeper is hereby empowered to receive at the same time he takes their money.

This matter has already taken air; and there are candidates who already appear, and have desired my interest and recommendation. The first who addressed me, with a modest discovery of that ambition, is LUCINDA, who hopes to be chosen for the *Boxes*.

LUCINDA is the daughter of Mr. SEALAND, an eminent merchant. She is a young woman of a most unaffected, easy, and engaging behaviour, which has brought her much into fashion among all the great families she visits; she is conversant in books, and no stranger to household affairs, of a discerning and quick spirit in conversation, and has a mortal aversion to all coxcombs; she has the modesty, in the account of herself, to pretend only to a judgement in the dresses and habits of the THEATRE. But, as I love to be fair in all representations, I must give the Electors notice (who may act accordingly) that she is a great favourer of the *Woollen Manufactures**; and she intends on the election-day to appear in a white stuff suit, lined with cherry-coloured silk, in the second row of the front boxes; for, besides the consideration of her country's good, she has skill enough to know that no woman is the better dressed for being in rich cloaths; and that it is the fancy and elegance of an habit, and not the cost, that makes it always becoming to the wearer. She is in hopes too, as I am privately informed, to

* An allusion to his "Spinster."

introduce, even on the Stage, dresses of our own growth and labour, which shall be as good, as cheap, and becoming, as any imported from abroad. This method, she imagines, will give the world a very advantageous opportunity of judging of the commodiousness, beauty, and ease of those habits, by the appearance they make upon the Players in parts proper to them. She concludes, that the THEATRE should be made serviceable to all parts of life, and all trades and professions, that it may the better deserve the support of the publick.

Mr. CHARLES MYRTLE stands for the *Side-box*. He is a gentleman of a very plentiful fortune; a student, or rather an inhabitant, of the Temple; he has a fine taste of letters, and from thence bears some reputation of a scholar, which makes him more valuable in that of gentleman. He has many agreeable qualities, besides the distinction of a good understanding, and more good-nature. But he has little imperfections, that frequently indispose his temper; and when jealousy takes hold of him, he becomes untractable, and unhappily positive in his opinions and resolutions; but I must not say too much on the less advantageous side of his character, because my son HARRY EDGAR offers himself at the same time to the town, and hopes for their votes and interest for the *Side-box*.

We have a candidate for the *Pit*, an eminent East-India Merchant, Mr. SEALAND, father of
LUCINDA.

LUCINDA. This gentleman was formerly what is called a *Man of Pleasure about the Town*; and, having, when young, lavished a small estate, retired to India, where, by marriage and falling into the knowledge of trade, he laid the foundation of the great fortune of which he is now master. I am in great hopes he will carry his election, for his thoughts and sentiments against the unworthy representations of citizens on the Stage may highly contribute to the abolition of such ridiculous images for the future. His knowledge and experience, by living in mixed company, as well as in the busy world here, balanced him against approving what is either too frivolous or too abstracted for public entertainments. He is a true pattern of that kind of *third gentry*, which has arisen in the world this last century; I mean, the great and rich families of merchants and eminent traders, who, in their furniture, their equipage, their manner of living, and especially their œconomy, are so far from being below the gentry, that many of them are now the best representatives of the ancient ones, and deserve the imitation of the modern nobility. If this gentleman should carry his election (as, from his having the whole City interest of *Jews* as well as *Gentiles* in the *Pit*, it is very likely he will), we shall have very great assistance from him, with relation both to the real and imaginary world. He is a man that does business with the candour of a gentleman, and performs his engagements with the exactness of a citizen.

The *Players* are in much hurry about the election of their proper representatives, there being but two female candidates, who are both remarkable for their great merit and industry in their profession. My son tells me, he finds, by their discourse about the Play-house, that every one, consulted apart, speaks of them in different modes. "I'll vote," says one, "for a lady " that values herself only as she is eminent in " the THEATRE; that never, when she is in " her part, has her Hero in the Side-box instead " of on the Stage; but is *acting as well* when " another is speaking, as when she speaks her- " self; who expresses in her countenance as " much what she hears, as what she utters." This description could relate to but two of all the House; but it is thought the Actors will chuse the less handsome, out of their complaisance to those Ladies who are Candidates for the Audience, because it is remarkable that people of quality bear to see their inferiors in fortune, their equals in wit and knowledge, with patience enough, provided they do not also come up to them in their manners and beauty.

The *First-gallery* has offered to it a Representative who is an underling of the Law, one who knows a great deal as the querks of it may perplex, but not a word as the reason of it may protect and serve mankind. I hope he will not carry it, because such a creature can be in no place where he does not consider rather how he can, as he is situated, disturb his neighbour, than

than enjoy his own. And this kind of creature will shew himself as much during his *term* in a seat at the Play, as in the possession of an estate for ever and ever.

My man HUMPHREY, who has lived with me for many years, proposes himself for the *First-gallery*. He is a diligent, careful, sensible man, and has had a right in all that comes off my person these forty years; for so long has he been my *Valet-de-chambre*, or Gentleman, as they call it, I cannot accuse him but of one ungentlemanly thing during our whole time together; and that was, he brought a Taylor to see me as I walked in Lincoln's-Inn Garden, and sold him the coat I had then on my back, while I was musing concerning the course of human affairs in the upper walk. This I cannot call an *injustice*; for I had given him the suit, and he put me in it, because it was warm, the day after I gave it him being cold. However, I may call it an *unpoliteness*, and an *indecorum*, because his master had it on while he was making the bargain. After I have said all this, I think I may put up a man for the *Gallery*, whose greatest offence he ever committed was only against decency.

I had, when I proposed this scheme, a *Journeyman Baker* * in my eye, as well that in case of

* When STEELE was attacked by DENNIS, in "The Character of Sir JOHN EDGAR," &c. he used the character of this *Baker* in his answer, which may be seen in the present volume,

danger of famine, from any outward cause, the house might bake for themselves, as also that he is a robust Critick, and can by way of cudgel keep silence about him in the *Upper-gallery*, where the wit and humour of the Play will not always command attention.

I have not yet heard of any other Candidates; but, when I do, shall give timely notice; in the mean time shall rest with great content, in the hopes I conceive of from the assistance of a well-chosen board. The election of a Poet for the landed interest of Parnassus, as well as the choice of the Actors who are to accompany the Auditors of the Drama, are matters that deserve to be treated of distinctly; but the qualification of so much *per annum*, in order to be deemed a man of capacity for this service, I cannot allow to be necessary, though I have very good friends of another mind, who will also take upon them to say, that, for the dignity and safety of *Arcadia*, a Comic or Tragic Poet should have three hundred pounds a year; and an Epic Poet cannot be truly such except he have six hundred a-year. From which worthy gentlemen I must beg leave to differ; and I take the liberty to say, that there is no such accomplishment mentioned by ARISTOTLE; HORACE, or any other Critick, ancient or modern.

N^o 4. TUESDAY, *January 12, 1719-20.*

Insani sapiens nomen ferat.

HOR. I Ep. vi. 15.

“The wise should be esteem’d a Fool.” DUNCOMBE.

A NEW Author naturally enquires, by all methods he can, what the World thinks of him and his performance, and I have not been able to resist this curiosity. But as they say, “Those who listen, seldom hear well of themselves,” it fared with me accordingly. I sat by two gentlemen at a coffee-house in very close conversation. One of them had the Paper called the THEATRE in his hand, and was reprimanded by his friend for keeping his eye upon that, without attending to what he said to him in his ear. My reader asked his friend, “if he knew this Sir JOHN EDGAR?” “Yes,” replied the gentleman, “he has been these twenty years a *Wrong-headed fellow*, and a *Whimsical*.” The first adjective he gave me is very easily understood; and it will appear whether I deserve it or not by my explanation of the other, more commonly used, and more rashly bestowed. A *Whimsical*, according to the modern acceptation of the word, is a person
who

who governs himself according to his own understanding, in disobedience to that of others, who are more in fashion than himself. To constitute a right *Whimsical*, there is, among other things necessary, a moderate skill in logick; for he is not truly whimsical, or given out for such, till he produces arguments, the force of which is no way to be avoided but by falling upon his character. When one distinguished by this word says a shrewd thing, the answer is, "that he is a *Whimsical*;" which is enough to evade all the strength of his argument. It is a great matter, if the person who calls him so, shrugs his shoulders, takes snuff, and says something in pity of him; for compassion is the best disguise of malice, and the most opposite course to cry a man down is to lament him. But your true *Whimsical* is too hardy a creature to be discountenanced and undone by inuendo's; and is never mortified but when truth, honour, and reason, are against him; which as soon as he perceives, he, without ceremony, or taking leave, runs to the side on which they appear. Hence it is, that he passes all his days under reproach from some persons or other; and he is, at different times, called a *Renegade*, a *Confessor*, and a *Martyr*, by every party. This happens from his sticking to principles, and having no respect to persons; and it is his inward constancy that makes him vary in outward appearance. It is therefore unlucky for those who speak of this character with ridicule, that all
the

the Great who ever lived were *Whimsicals*; nor was there ever a man deserved the name of a man, who was always in fashion.

This must be so from the very nature of the thing. For if Reason be that which distinguishes a man from a brute; whoever resigns that Reason in complaisance to another, degrades himself from the very place he had in the species with the person whom he so obeys. A *Whimsical* can look at such people with the true derision of a man, with a laughter flowing from reason; while all the animals who have so debased themselves, have only the grin and the jaw of laughter; and that which should direct the affection of laughing, Reason, is on the side of the derided *Whimsical*.

If men would but seriously consider this abject state, they would scorn a being which owes its ease and tranquillity (if it has ease and tranquillity) to nothing but want of reflection; they would immediately feel that no price is sufficient for parting with the support of their own understanding.

I remember to have read in some *whimsical* Author something that will clear this discourse. My Author carries on the common acceptation of the word *Nonsense*, which ordinarily is said of what cannot be agreeable to Reason, to the use of it also when we intend what cannot be agreeable to conscience. He wisely and merrily shows, that there is *Nonsense of Conscience*, as well as *Nonsense of Understanding*. He who talks
foolishly

foolishly is under *no sense*, or nonsense of Reason; and he who acts unjustly is under *no sense*, or nonsense of Conscience. Yet as buffoons (though they may have at the same time wit to please their patrons) run into Nonsense of Understanding; so another kind of men, though they at first feel an inward smart, acquire by degrees a Nonsense of Conscience; which Conscience, in time, sits very easy about them, and never pricks, so as to grow troublesome, till they are in disgrace.

A *Whimsical*, who sees all this, shall with great pleasure, though, I think, not with as much good-nature, behold sycophants chop-fallen, and out of countenance, at any ruffle in the affairs of those to whom they have sold themselves; for there is a virginity in *honour*, which cannot be sold a second time; they may have, from new-comers, a small price for every prostitution afterward; but they are not to be courted or used with respect for the future; no, the insensibility, which I call *Nonsense of Conscience*, reduces the person that is guilty of it, to be but the shell or husk of what he was. You see this in the common behaviour of such an apostate; he gives general and flavish adulation to those that are present, and treats the absent with as general defamation. When men are thus scooped of their souls, they march about in a condition posthumous to themselves, and are never happy but when they forget what they were. An old Philosopher observing a
fellow

fellow grow very obsequious to a worthless rich man, asked him, in an odd and abrupt manner, "how many stone of beef he would take, to part with the faculty of thought and memory?" When the gentleman seemed astonished at so incoherent a question, the Sage told him, "There was nothing unnatural in the question; for when a man quits the motives of living for a livelihood, what does he, but resign reason to gratify appetite? which is the same thing as parting with the soul to support the body. And for my part," continued the Moralist, "I think him who ceases to think for himself, and consequently parts with his soul and spirit that his body may fare deliciously, as much a self-murderer as he who, to avoid anguish of spirit, destroys his body; for a dead soul in a living body is not, in the eye of reason, the human existence; but wisdom teaches, that an animated carcase, without sense of honour, is a more deplorable object than a body from which the soul is actually departed."

Let such as are their own survivors, or rather ghosts, who stalk about in the ways of men after the decease of their true selves, call those who enjoy their own souls *Whimsicals*. Their intention of giving reproach shall dignify the object of it; for what ill men condemn, good men will revere. Words shall take their signification from the persons who use them; and

when a prostitute bestows the appellation, we shall understand that an upright man is understood whenever we hear from his mouth the word *Whimsical*.

Fortitude in a man's behaviour, without distaste, envy, malice, or any other indirect motive, will, one time or other, or, which is better, when time shall be no more, be crowned with its due reward; and extraordinary men in all ages, even before the assistance of such happy declarations as we in these times have received, have assumed a spirit above the considerations of wealth or power, or even safety of life, and asserted truth, not only in contempt and hazard, but even to the loss of them all.

Such persons always were treated with words of derision by those whom their conduct provoked and upbraided into a secret contempt of themselves; for it is a sensible torment to base men to see others practise virtue, and they are from thence reduced to calumniate what they know they cannot imitate. The approbation of good men must be honourable, the dislike of ill men cannot be shameful. As a weight of gold has in it a value above many times as much of baser metals; so five men of honour and integrity over-balance an hundred men's voices in the account of fame and reputation. But even fame and reputation are things to be neglected, though the most valuable acquisitions, both from the pleasure they give those who are possessed of them, as well as for their
happy

happy effects upon the rest of the world; yet I say, with all this good and happiness which attend an advantageous reputation, it is but the garment of Virtue, and she is to suffer it to be torn to pieces, or quite taken away, to secure herself, and escape with her life only.

This is the hard task of being a *Whimsical*; but thus a *Whimsical* is supported in it; and I shall conclude this discourse, by asserting, that the greatest character that ever appeared as a meer man had the common fate of those who prefer duty to fame, and virtue to applause; and this was a person who was not constant and *whimsical* with any set of men to support him, or to share the reproach with him, but lived and died a *Whimsical* against a whole people.

The illustrious personage I am going to mention was a Dissenter in the Heathen Religion, and was the first martyr for the true God. The indictment of Socrates was, $\xi\varsigma \eta \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma \nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$, “He did not acknowledge the Gods which the city acknowledged.”

This man is the leader of all such as have ever since been called *whimsical*; of all such as can prefer the admonition of that throbbing particle of divinity within us, to the clamour, the importunity, the hurry, the calumny, of the whole mistaken world around us. Every instance of fortitude (to the loss of any thing commodious or pleasing in life) in the cause of truth, or support of justice, has, in a de-

D

gree,

gree, a tincture of that virtue which this noble Philosopher exerted in vindication and assertion of Him from whom all things flow that are truly great and praise-worthy.

But it is possible another occasion, and more solemn opportunity, may be found to celebrate this Divine Philosopher. In the mean time, if any of my readers have great incidents before them, in which they are to act, let them apply what has been here said to those circumstances; and let no man value the danger of being called a *Whimsical*, when he incurs that appellation in the support of the needy, the laborious, the meek, and the industrious, against the wealthy, the lazy, the haughty, and the luxurious; for which noble endeavours the present condition of the trade, the empire, the religion, and policy, of these kingdoms, equally call for the zeal and loyalty of all that are so happy as to live within them, the only remaining mansions of Liberty and Property.

* * * "Seven Pictures of the Cartons after RAPHAEL that are at Hampton Court, and of the same size with those Originals, are now in the Court of Requests at Westminster, and will be sold by auction in one lot; of which timely notice will be given." Post-Boy, Jan. 16, 1719-20.

††† "This day was published, The Merry Andrew, or British Harlequin, N° II. wherein Masquerades are defended against the Free-Thinker, and Free-Thinker Extraordinary, and every other four old fellow. To be published weekly. By the famous GEORGIO GRIMALDO.

Whitehall, Jan. 16.

N° 5.

N^o 5. SATURDAY, *January 16, 1719-20.*

*Decipimur specie armorum**. VIRG.

‘We are deceived by the *semblance* of armour.’

I N my last Paper I mentioned an adjective, which was used as an appellative to Sir JOHN EDGAR; but omitted to explain how that term could not be applied to me, though I was very anxious lest another should. The passion which all Writers have to fame, made me take care of the part wherein I was sensible I was more weak, and neglect the other, wherein I thought myself less immediately hurt. I was very much afflicted to be called *Wrong-headed* and *Whimsical*. But from my own conscience believing that there was more pretension for calling me the latter, or at least from self-love being of that opinion; I guarded against *Whimsical* in the first place, but secretly resolved to speak to *Wrong-headed* on the first occasion which should offer afterwards. A *Wrong-head* is a person who seems to have sense, but has it not; yet is so near being right, that he is not easily to be contradicted. From whence it is

* These words will not easily be found in VIRGIL; and were perhaps put together by STEELE at random, to suit a story to which they are a motto.

that a *Wrong-head*, who is a ready tongue, is too sharp, or too hard, for a man of ten times his sense. He is so quick and nimble in his proper motions and his stumbles, that a man who goes at the ordinary rate of reasonable walkers cannot come up with him time enough to shew him where and how he was like to fall, or did fall; but he is upon his legs, and meets him in as proper a posture as he who saw all his unnecessary activities, and intended to tell him of them immediately. But as there are more who take plurality of words for eloquence, than of those who know a choice and propriety of words to be speech; he who provokes or contends with a *Wrong-headed* fellow cannot himself have a pate rightly set on; for they are unanswerable who have something like reason, and have not reason. Error increases according to the vivacity of those who are deceived, and speed itself is a fault in a running-footman who is out of his way; which is as much as to say, that when you are not under a right direction, every thing which would be otherwise for your advantage grows prejudicial: and the more you merit, the more you offend. To keep the Reader no longer in suspense, I proceed to shew, that a *Wrong-head* is a tragi-comical instrument, which is always exciting both joy and sorrow, and is a continual fund for both, as well in the World as on the Stage.

But as the generality are great lovers of facts, when a man is explaining any thing to them;

I shall

I shall be historical in my present labour, and shew the nature of a *Wrong-head* in two or three stories, which are as merry as melancholy.

It is remarkable, that every nation is notoriously defective, or excellent, in one circumstance or other; in which particularities they differ from all the rest of the world. Naturalists observe, that the kingdom of Ireland is free from all venomous creatures; but as their animals are more harmless, so are they observed to be at the same time more stupid than those of other kingdoms. "They are," say the Sage, "more phlegmatic, as they are less choleric." I am far from making national reflexions; but my business, as I take care of the THEATRE, is to make a survey of all human-nature; and if the Irish are particularly concerned in the discourse of to-day, I warn all other nations to laugh or weep temperately; because I shall certainly give the followers of *St. Patrick* their revenge on another occasion.

To shew the workings of the *Wrong-headed*, give me leave to tell a story or two in *Low Life*, as it is called in Theatrical language. One of these adventures happened the last week. DURMON MACPATRICK has served his country in the character of a private gentleman, in a station which the rich and proud call a foot-foldier, for many years last past, and has lodged between London and Chelsea for some time, without confining himself to a house, especially

in the night; for his equipage and habit are very unequal to the desires and appetites of his family. This induces this unhappy gentleman, while waiting for a fellowship in Chelsea college, to beg of passengers, and shew his wants with sword and pistol. It happened one night last week that a gentleman fell into his hands; and, after the usual ceremonies, went into a treaty with him, in which a purse of gold, a watch of the same metal, and a diamond ring, were surrendered to our indigent man of merit. He put all the concessions he had gained by this capitulation into his upper-coat pocket. But finding the coast still clear, and the gentleman's dress much better than his own, he changed upper coats with him. Upon which the prisoner ran away with his own goods in Mr. DURMON'S coat. Mr. DURMON immediately called after him, "Thief! Thief!" They ran till they came into the hands of the guard upon the road. The gentleman who made the surrender began to speak; but DURMON was too loud and too quick for him, and when the lights came about them, said, "That impudent fellow had robbed him of the coat on his back; " by the same token there were in his pockets " his gold watch, his purse of guineas, and " his ring which he brought out of Ireland." They were both very well known; and the question, who had the worst of this exchange, it is thought, will turn upon circumstances, and the characters of the parties.

I shall

I shall make no observations till I have gone through all my three stories. The second Hibernian adventure is as follows: There was a very great intimacy between three of the same kingdom, MACK, FITZ, and TEAGUE. These coming home together from a tippling-house in the Strand, towards their lodgings in the Haymarket, Teague marching in the middle, on a very dark night, Fitz and Mack fell into a whisper with Teague under the dead wall of the Meuse; when Fitz communicated the secret in these words: "Master Teague, I am sorry any difference should happen between friends, but Mr. Mack and I must have what moneys you have about you; and I desire your answer very softly, because strangers are passing by;" to which Teague whispered, "I can't spare it." Fitz replied, "I would not have you mistake; for we do not design to borrow it, but to take it perforce for our own for ever." To which Teague said, "I shall not part with it so easily." Upon which, Fitz, continuing the whisper of their three heads together, said, "Mr. Mack, do your work." Mr. Teague desired to know what work. Mack replied, "To shoot you with his pistol in case you are uncivil." Teague advised him not to kill him, because the pistol would make a noise, and his body would be found, and create search after them; which, he said, he told them for their own sakes only. The result of this secret conference was, that Fitz and Mack took from

Teague five guineas and ten shillings, and left him under a vow not to depart from the place till he had reckoned a thousand.

Some days after, Teague received a letter from Dover, to the following purpose :

“ SIR,

“ I am sorry that any misunderstanding
 “ should happen amongst us, but Mr. Mack
 “ and I have quarrelled about it since we
 “ parted; and I do hereby let you know, that
 “ he cheated you of your money, for the pistol
 “ that he held to your breast was not charged.
 “ I am your sorrowful friend, &c.”

Upon this letter they were seized at the place from whence it was directed, and one of them hanged accordingly.

My third narrative is of a deaf Irish Corporal, whose fate I shall tell in as few words as possible. He posted six men at different places about a field, in the night, while himself and two or three others beat round a thicket within it, in search of deserters. His orders to his sentries at the out-posts were, to fire upon any coming out of the field, who should not answer to their challenge; the poor deaf creature came himself upon one of those posts, and not hearing when he was called upon, was shot dead by his own order.

I think I have made good the description with which I prepared these histories, that they are both ridiculous and lamentable; and it is from

from the consideration of the make of such heads, that *Wrong-thinkers* in a less degree are understood by moral anatomists and dramatic writers.

The Reader will apprehend by these histories of real facts, that great Wits and Madmen are not nearer allied than Fools and Knaves. You observe how thin the partition is, when Durmon searched the gentleman, and took from him some superfluities and ornaments, which would be very well judged by himself necessaries; nay, when he put them in his coat-pocket for haste, in a thing which he knew it would be unseemly to be taken, he still did wisely; but it was injudicious, to say no worse, to change coats with him before he had removed the contents in the pockets. Why this was such a mixture, if I may so speak, of indiscretion and right thinking, that a man is apt to conclude, that there are folds in the head and heart, of which those organs, though the most intellectual we have, are not conscious; else why should Mr. Durmon follow an honest man, and call him thief upon mere false appearances? And if he had understanding equal to the design he was about, he could not but have easily foreseen, that the old coat of a soldier, which is more an ensign of honour than wealth, would raise doubts concerning the property in matters of great value which should be found in them, and consequently it would lie upon him to shew how he came to have them in his possession.

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The case of the robbery upon Teague will admit of the like reflexions; and, indeed, that does not seem to be much other than misunderstanding; for one of the criminals, who was hanged, said, “He did not do it but out of
 “modesty, because he was ashamed to borrow
 “any more money; and therefore was so bash-
 “ful as to plunder him in the dark.”

The history of the Corporal, though it ended so tragically, we must own, was only inadvertency; and we must place him among those silly heroes, of whom we are not over-stocked, who forget themselves when they are in the service of the publick.

But in the general, and upon the whole, the *Wrong-headed* are a race of people quite of another constitution than the *Whimsical*; for as the *Whimsical* prefer others to themselves, the *Wrong-headed* prefer themselves to all others. The *Whimsical* are supported by fortitude; the *Wrong-headed* by obstinacy.

The *Wrong-headed* are by turns ridiculous and odious, which happens to no other character; for they are, in all their actions, directed by pride and vanity; their pride makes them odious, and their vanity ridiculous. A *wrong-headed* fellow is laughed at in his absence; but when he is present, he is only hated: for the arrogance and sauciness of his deportment raises him from the rank of the ridiculous and contemptible to that of the odious and important.

N° 6. TUESDAY, *January 19, 1719-20.*

— *Animus meminisse horret, luctuque refugit.*

VIRG. *Æn.* ii. 12.

‘Tho’ my shock’d soul recoils, my tongue shall tell.’
PITT.

IT is my province to extend my examinations into all parts of life, and in the survey of it make proper remarks for the benefit and entertainment of my Readers. While I was giving orders for the publishing my thoughts for half the week, I received the following letter, which altered the intended subject into this you now read. The circumstances of it seemed to promise much instructive, as well as entertaining matter; for there is no greater or more common injustice can be committed by man, than that of making an ill return to a woman’s confidence in him. The guilt rises with the inability of the injured person to revenge it; and it is for this reason, that I take both the innocent and lapsed women into my care and observation. In the progress of my labours I shall shew, that our laws are very defective in the sufficient punishment of the man who con-
signs

signs the whole life of a woman to sorrow and shame, to purchase to himself one hour of joy and triumph. Commerce with a woman, without affection to her, or concern for her, is the most inhuman and bestial action a man can be guilty of. The woman's vice in that case is human frailty; but the man's is the same, improved with diabolical malice. The person deceived and persuaded is an innocent, in comparison of the seducer; and the seducer advances to the temper of a dæmon, as he is negligent of the welfare of her he has ensnared.

“ Sir JOHN, Jan. 16, 1719-20.

“ I dare say you have read the beginning of
 “ my story in print, under the name of *The*
 “ *Narrative, or the Delightful and Melancholy*
 “ *History of LEUCIPPE*; which I promised to
 “ continue on post-days. But, alas! when I
 “ had printed but one paper, which was on last
 “ November 12, I found myself very unequal
 “ to my design; and, when too late, considered
 “ that there are many things in my history,
 “ which could not be explained by a Woman,
 “ that might be much better communicated to
 “ the world by a Man. I desire therefore to
 “ come upon your Stage, and have a part in
 “ your THEATRE, that the miseries of unfor-
 “ tunate Women may be as much avoided by
 “ your Readers, from my history and intelli-
 “ gence with me, as what is desirable may be
 “ pursued and imitated by matters you learn
 “ from

“ from your more worthy acquaintance among
 “ our sex. Take then, in the words I have
 “ heretofore communicated, the cause of my
 “ misfortunes and adventures, as follows :

“ LEUCIPPE (for that shall be my name) was
 “ born in a county-town of this kingdom, fam-
 “ ous from the University in it, which is not
 “ only renowned, but the nursery of renown,
 “ and is called OXFORD. My father was a
 “ citizen of good reputation in that place ; but
 “ had the misfortune to bury my mother when
 “ I, his only child, was arrived at the age of
 “ fourteen. I soon fancied myself a very hap-
 “ py woman, in being made, as I was, the
 “ mistress of the house, and living with my
 “ father with the authority of a wife. But
 “ that satisfaction vanished in a short time ; for
 “ my father also was, within two years after,
 “ taken from me by sudden death, and left me
 “ in money and effects a small estate of one
 “ thousand pounds. This portion, little as it
 “ was, added to my beauty, drew the eyes of
 “ several deserving men (that thought of set-
 “ tling in a country parsonage) upon me. But
 “ I, forsooth, liked nothing which I had seen
 “ from my infancy ; but, having read plays
 “ and romances, my imagination was full of
 “ gaieties, that prevented my entertaining so
 “ moderate desires as being the partner and wife
 “ of a scholar. I was, from the early loss of
 “ my mother, and conversing with my father
 “ and

“ and his friends more than any of my own
 “ sex, grown, as I believed, very judicious in
 “ my opinion of men, and began to look out
 “ for an object of love, suitable to my under-
 “ standing.

“ There came down to Oxford, about that
 “ time, a man of the town, by way of retire-
 “ ment from it; a gentleman well made, well
 “ behaved, and (which was then above all with
 “ me) well dressed. But, had I known the
 “ world then as well as he has since made me
 “ do, I had thought his habit tawdry, his be-
 “ haviour imitation, his discourse repetition.
 “ This indigent follower of people of condition
 “ and understanding was soon admired for a
 “ fine gentleman among the young people of
 “ both sexes, who had never seen such as he
 “ mimicked in his second-hand deportment.
 “ To be short, this fine man condescended to
 “ take most notice of me, and I very gratefully
 “ fell in love with him; but we called our re-
 “ gard for each other Friendship—Friendship,
 “ that most specious word, which never yet
 “ ended well between a young man and a young
 “ woman. In the midst of this friendly pas-
 “ sion, or passionate friendship, my flaming beau
 “ was arrested and clapped into gaol by creditors
 “ from London. I brought him my all, half
 “ of it procured him his liberty; and in great
 “ generosity he immediately took me into his
 “ arms, called me his wife, and pretended to
 “ let me into his true history; owned to me
 “ that

“ that he had run out, and had much disobliged
“ an excellent mother, a lady of great wealth,
“ whom he had highly offended, because he
“ would not take up and marry; but I, how-
“ ever unequal in fortune, should be the happy
“ woman; and he would the very next day
“ carry me to town, and present me to his mo-
“ ther and relations, who would be highly ex-
“ alted at his resolution of abandoning a loose
“ single life.

“ He wrote up letters to prepare for our re-
“ ception; and accordingly we are now arrived
“ at his pretended lady-mother's, who was a
“ notorious accomplished bawd in those days;
“ she was no more, nor no less. I shall never
“ forget her solemn gravity, when she ap-
“ proached me on the top of the stairs, at the
“ head of her well-instructed, skilful maidens.
“ I, trembling at my rusticity before such fine
“ ladies, kneeled with my precious consort, and
“ received the blessing of the beldam. It is the
“ manner of those houses to give each other the
“ names and titles of such women of beauty
“ and quality as they resemble in air, shape,
“ and stature; and upon novices and foreigners
“ they impose them as the real persons; but I
“ remember there was my Lady Dutchess of
“ such a place, a charming huffey; then the
“ Countess of elsewhere; then my Lady Dow-
“ ager of a third town; then a superannuated
“ Volunteer, an old bully, who was called Sir
“ JOHN,

“ JOHN, and his tawdry consort, one after another, deigned to salute me. These civilities over, I stood in the utmost distress how to behave, when my good Mother would beg leave to have me apart, where I received a lecture indeed, but bid me, however, not be afraid. ‘ My son, said she, is a gentleman of a tender temper ;’ and smiled. To be short, I cannot tell whether it was the Dutchess, the Countess, or which of them ; but I that evening pledged one of those Great Ladies in a cup, which I have often lamented was not poison. I waked in the morning and found myself alone ; and being ashamed to enquire whether I was married last night, twenty thousand different thoughts came into my head. I was immediately told by a covey of these huffeys, who were to attend the business, that the Bridegroom would be with me immediately, but never saw him from that hour to this ; and what heaven covers, what earth bears, what air feeds the villain who thus deceived, robbed, and destroyed me, I know not. Me, a stranger, helpless as I was, they kept in a continual round of jollities, of fiddles, new gallants. The mother of the family threatened, flattered, and at last advised me to make the most of my beauty, for it was now all my portion ; but she would have the charity, since I had no friends, to find me some, and allow me the greater share
“ of

“ of the income from my charms; but bid me
“ not spoil my eyes or features with being a
“ fool, and crying for what I could never reco-
“ ver. I very well remember, the first calm
“ hour I enjoyed after my undoing, I took a
“ sensible pleasure in the reflexion, that all my
“ relations were dead, and they could not know
“ of my shame. But the unwilling part I had
“ in the evil, the innocence of my own mind,
“ and the abandoned life, which is full of plea-
“ sures, though not half so full as of sorrows,
“ made me at last take comfort; and I, in pro-
“ cess of time, became, from an inability to
“ bear my own reflexions, the most abandoned,
“ but the most celebrated Wanton of the Town.
“ I call myself a Wanton; but though I was
“ the slave and instrument of delight to others,
“ I very seldom or ever had a moment of sin-
“ cere satisfaction; for the pleasures of a loose
“ life carry but half the will with them; and
“ the diffidence, the want of respect, and the
“ consciousness that neither has any value for
“ the other, pollute the enjoyment, and pall the
“ gratification into secret but mutual shame and
“ contempt.

“ Having had an uncommon education by
“ conversing with the many gentlemen of wit
“ and learning, who had no design upon me,
“ but were friends to my father, my reflexions
“ upon the adventures that I met with were
“ more deep and quick than perhaps are usual

E

“ with

“ with such wretches as myself. But years and
 “ experience have added to the abhorrence I
 “ have ever had for the practice which my ne-
 “ cessities obliged me to during the vigour of
 “ my life. And I have this comfort, that I
 “ never lost the love of Virtue; but, contrary to
 “ the depraved inclination of others who have
 “ fallen like me, instead of being instrumental
 “ to the destruction of Innocents, I have ever
 “ endeavoured to preserve all I could from the
 “ contagion, and shall go on in that way of
 “ atonement :

“ I’ll teach the too believing to beware,
 “ And lead the guiltless footstep from the snare.”

* * * Just published, “ Proposals for printing by Sub-
 scription, Two additional Volumes to Dugdale’s Monas-
 ticon Anglicanum, to compleat the History of the antient
 Abbeys, Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedral, Collegiate, and
 Parochial Churches. Being a large Collection of many
 valuable Charters, Grants, and other Particulars ; as also
 of Parochial Antiquities, from antient Manuscripts found
 in the best Repositories.” Proposals are to be had of J.
 Smith and W. Bray, at Exeter Exchange, John Wyat and
 Richard King in St. Paul’s Church-yard, Luke Stokoe at
 Charing-Cross, and T. Meighan in Drury-lane.

††† This day is published, “ The Epistles of Clio and
 Strephon : being a Collection of familiar Letters in Verse,
 that passed between an English Lady (every where admired
 for her Wit) and an English Gentleman in France, who
 first took an Affection to each other, by reading acciden-
 tally one another’s occasional Compositions, both in Prose
 and Verse. To which is prefixed a Critical Essay, con-
 taining some Remarks upon the Nature of Epistolary and
 Elegiac Poetry, and on the most beautiful Passages in the
 whole Collection.” Dedicated to Sir RICHARD STEELE,
 Knt. Printed for J. Hooke.

N^o 7. SATURDAY, *January 23*, 1719-20.

Spartam quam nactus est—

“Give a dog a bad name—”

IN the survey of the World and the Stage, which have been ten thousand times observed to be the Pictures of one another, certain late circumstances have prompted me to consider the condition and character of one particular Actor. This Performer acquits himself with great applause both in Comedy and Tragedy: in Comedy he is Sir FOPLIN FLUTTER and Sir COURTLEY NICE, in the Plays so called; he is Sir NOVELTY FASHION in “Love’s Last Shift,” and rises in follies when Lord FOPPINGTON in “The Relapse;” he is SPARKISH in “The Country Wife;” a conceited Coxcomb, and a more exquisite Fool and Half-wit, when WITWOULD in “The Way of the World;” he is TATTLE, a little disfavour, in “Love for Love;” and ATTALL, a general pretender, in the “Double Gallant;” BRAZEN in “The Recruiting Officer;” and GIBBET in “The Stratagem;” characters of quite a different

nature from the others; which shall be the last mentioned in the Comic way. But when we come to Tragedy, he is RICHARD III. Duke of GLOUCESTER in "Jane Shore;" GLOUCESTER in "King Lear;" IAGO in "Othello;" SYMPHAX in "Cato;" BURLEIGH in "The Earl of Essex;" and CARDINAL WOLSEY in "Henry VIII."

I have been at first view much astonished to observe a strong inclination and propensity of the Town to receive with pleasure any thing that tends to the personal mortification of Mr. CIBBER, who with much address and capacity has pleased them in all these characters. But considering this matter more closely, I have readily accounted for it, when I have reflected, in all these performances he has personated nothing but vices and imperfections; and by that means insensibly drawn upon himself the contempt and hatred of the Audience. Nay, this impression is so deep, that they have objected to him when he has played ÆSOP and ALEXAS, that they were parts which carried a mixture of dignity and grace, and consequently not fit for his genius. Nay, in the "Nonjuror," of which he is the Author and Actor, they have not been less cruel to him; but seemed to attribute his success to a malice in his nature, and not a skill in his art.

Such is the heady precipitancy of crowds; and thus do they receive opinions and prejudices in the lump, without distinguishing and
examining

examining what is before them, further than as it strikes the eye, and so gets into the imagination.

But the evil does not end here; for the same weakness in the people brings much disadvantage upon an Actor of this kind, even in his ordinary life and affairs of the world, and hardships done to CIBBER would in a great measure be received as punishments inflicted upon IAGO or SYPHAX. I remember, when a strolling company acted at Bury in Suffolk, a country gentleman sent a message to the Master of the troop, inviting them all to his house, but excepted the Actres of greatest merit there, who happened to have performed that week, before his Worship, the part of the Countess of NOTTINGHAM in "The Earl of Essex," wherein she purchased the odious approbation of this hospitable 'Squire, infomuch that, though a good sensible man otherwise, he said, "he did not care who laughed at him for it, but that false huffey should never come under his roof." I could mention much greater hardships done to Mr. CIBBER, without any cause assigned; and therefore cannot but attribute it to the many absurdities and cruelties which all the world knows he has been guilty of on the Stage. But this is pushed further than the 'Squire carried his anger and resentment; for he did not order the Countess of NOTTINGHAM to starve in general, but was contented she should not eat at his house.

It must certainly be for some such deep cause as this that we do not see CIBBER on the Stage * : for it were a most unreasonable thing to imagine, as many do, that it is done to mortify somebody behind the curtain; for that would be a premeditated settled anger, and not an inadvertent dislike a man knows not why; and we must always take things in the more mild and gentle sense and interpretation. But whether it be CIBBER, or RICHARD III, that is now in disgrace with somebody that has nothing to do with him, but however frightens him from performing his parts; I make this matter only an apt foundation in general for a lesson against the growth of irascible qualities in the heart, and an *examen* into the artificial management of the passion of anger, and the skill of doing injuries at all times and all ages.

The admirable SHAKESPEAR, who has, I think, taken in all human life in his dramatic writings, introduces the King and Queen, in his Henry VIII, attended by a Privy Counsellor, who worthily represents to the King the grievances at that time, in these words :

* On a disgust which the Duke of NEWCASTLE, then Lord Chamberlain, had received from Mr. CIBBER, that gentleman was for some time forbid to perform; and soon after a difference arising between the same Nobleman and Sir RICHARD STEELE, the power which had been often exercised by the persons who had held his Grace's office was exerted, and an order of silence was enforced against the Managers.

The

The Clothiers all, not able to maintain
 The many to them belonging, have put off
 The Spinsters, Carders, Fullers, Weavers, who,
 Unfit for other life, compell'd by hunger
 And lack of other means, in desperate manner
 Daring th' event to the teeth, are all in uproar,
 And danger serves amongst them——

The Play makes this evil fall heavy upon a great man, who had been the main instrument of bringing this calamity upon the people. But what does this crafty rogue CIBBER, I mean Cardinal WOLSEY, do upon this occasion? Why, when he sees the King intent upon relieving his subjects, he takes the Secretary CROMWELL aside, and says,

“ —— A word with you :

“ Let there be Letters writ to every Shire

“ Of the King's grace and pardon. The griev'd

“ Commons

“ Hardly conceive of me ; let it be nois'd,

“ That, through our intercession, this revokement

“ And pardon comes——”

This was a pretty good piece of dexterity for the simplicity of those times, when it was a scandalous thing for one man openly to hurt another merely because he did not like him. But I cannot but think the Cardinal did very ill in robbing his master of the first motion towards this redress; that, methinks, was doubling his iniquity; for as he had enraged the people against the government, and his gracious Master

had overlooked that fault in him, one would have imagined he might have been touched enough with the sense of a mercy so lately received, as to have forbore doing him any further injury for some days to come. But as absolute power is only the first start from disorder and anarchy, every abatement of that power is an improvement in politicks: but it very often happens, that in mixed Governments, with a Sovereign at the head of it, that Sovereign is the most injured person in the whole nation, by a misrepresentation of his friends by those about him. This is the greatest of all injustice; and a person who should use the King's name in order to gratify his own humour or resentment, does a much greater injury to his Prince than the merit of any servant who is guilty of it can repair. However, men conversant in Courts will find, that where the Prince's name is once made use of as the Author of any grace or favour, the people about him use it ten times to cover themselves in the prosecution of their own folly or malice. I therefore cannot but laugh at those silly creatures who are intimidated by any such disrespectful use of the King's name, as to say the King will have this thing so or so, when it regards a man's property; it is against the very nature of the thing, as well as the disposition of a good and gracious Prince, to exert any will but according to justice. And I cannot but be of DICK DUNKIRK's opinion, who asserted, "that it
" was

“ was nonsense to say any evil to any man could
“ come from the King; and that it is ignorant,
“ as well as undutiful, to name him but when
“ it is to do justice or confer favour.” People
in England have a thing they call “ The Peti-
“ tion of Right,” which guards their Prince
from the danger of doing things without right
information, and secures the subject of an op-
portunity of giving their Guardian and their
Father due notice of their condition.

But as I began upon a circumstance relating
to the THEATRE, I ought to stick to that; and
cannot but express my admiration, why any
body of great fortune and quality should desire
a jurisdiction over Players, who cannot possibly
be governed, as to their œconomy, their accom-
modation on the Stage, their salaries and assign-
ments of their parts, but by themselves, and
those of acknowledged superiority amongst
them. He that should attempt to govern them
but by a regulation formed upon this plan,
would find himself at the head of an Army of
Officers, each of whom would not only think
himself, but really be, as to the mechanic part
of the ordonnance amongst them, superior to
his General; they could not have capacity for
their business, were they not fuller of sensibili-
ties, or had they not quicker tastes of pains and
pleasures, than other men. I do not say a word
here of the women amongst them, but omit to
say, that they are like all other English ladies,
whose disposition is, that they are rather *hu-
moured* than *governed*.

The

The Patentee therefore, in my humble opinion, did like a wise man, and a great politician, in becoming but a sharer and director with relation to the expence, and reserving the character of Governor only with regard to the morality of the Stage.

Upon the whole, a great man's unaccountable and condescending ambition to wrest this dominion from the proper owner of it*, especially since that illustrious personage has in other circumstances been the greatest favourer of him, is utterly new and unparalleled, except in a case I remember in my youth that concerned a gentleman in Nottinghamshire.

A noble and generous youth, possessed of large tracts of ground and larger immunities, entertained, bestowed, with bounties, largesses, and grants, with a mind too ample even for his immense fortune. Among his donations, he gave a field to one who had more art and industry than stock and cattle to improve his holding. The tenure was not in itself fruitful, and therefore could not by a poor tenant be improved but by extraordinary methods. As necessity is the mother of invention, the tenant cast about for live cattle that would find provender without being supported by his ground, and for finding them a covert, which should do him as much honour in his neighbourhood as a dwelling of his own. His cogitations ended in the invention of a glass-hive for bees: the

* See more of this in the THEATRE, N^o VIII. p. 80.

transparent labour, order, and regular tumult, of that little people drew a constant crowd from all parts around, that paid for seeing the curiosity; among the rest his Patron, who was so taken with it, that he desired his tenant to deliver up his lease, and that improvement, and expect from him a greater bounty. It is remarkable, that Artists prefer their skill, and the fame of it, to all other considerations; and therefore the noble Patron was absolutely refused his request, which he called ingratitude; and, with indignation, attempted to carry away by force what he could not obtain by request; he seized the hive with his own hands, and was immediately stung from head to foot; all the features of his face, and shape of his person, were bloated and swelled into a monstrous degree, insomuch that he could not be known for some time to be the same person. He had no other effect, when he came to himself, from the contention, but this useful reflexion, that great and brave men must necessarily be vanquished and dishonoured when they contend with those against whom it is unworthy to employ their greatness or their valour.

* * * On Saturday next will be published, The THEATRE, N^o IX. N. B. Whereas complaint hath been made of the want of this Paper, occasioned by their not being regularly dispersed by the Hawkers; this is to inform the Publick, that they may for the future be constantly supplied with them from the Hawkers, and complete setts be had at Mr. Chetwood's, &c.'

Postboy, Jan. 18, 1719-20,
N^o 8.

N° 8. TUESDAY, *January 26*, 1719-20.

“ EDGAR, *I am no more.*”

King Lear, SHAKESPEAR.

A Gentleman who is the first inventor of this kind of Writing*, and introduced into it a much better Writer than himself †, that is now immortal, shall receive of me, Sir JOHN EDGAR, the same compliment which he paid a man who so highly excelled him, though he knew the superiority of that genius would take from him his very being as an Author. This is, I will say, for admitting Sir RICHARD STEELE to entertain you to-day, instead of Sir JOHN EDGAR.

He has writ me the following Letter :

“ SIR, *Jan. 25, 1719-20.*

“ Your last Paper having descended to the
 “ case of particular men who are concerned in
 “ the THEATRE, I hope you will allow me the
 “ advantage of being represented to the Town by
 “ your means, and of conveying my thoughts
 “ to a Noble Person, who has forbid me, with-

* STEELE.

† ADDISON.

“ out

“ out any fault of mine, ever to approach him,
 “ either by speech or writing, as long as we
 “ live; but you will understand me better by
 “ reading what I know not how to convey to
 “ him unless you will please to print it.

“ *Villiers-street, York-buildings,*
 “ *Jan. 25, 1719-20.*

“ MY MOST HONOURED LORD AND PATRON,

“ If your Grace believes it is as great to
 “ undo as to make a man, I am the unhappy
 “ instrument in both kinds; and if it is a gra-
 “ tification to you, I have some consolation in
 “ the wretched distinction of being the only
 “ man the Duke of NEWCASTLE ever injured.
 “ My high obligations to you temper my spirit;
 “ and, after some tumult of soul and agony of
 “ the worst passions in it, I behold you in the
 “ pleasing light you have heretofore appeared
 “ to me. I make you allowance for the disad-
 “ vantage of youth and prosperity, and my
 “ Benefactor covers my Oppressor. As this
 “ last word must needs give offence to a noble
 “ nature, it stands upon me to make out my
 “ complaint, and shew all the world; for all
 “ the world will be curious in this case, as
 “ obscure as I am; for I have ceased to be so,
 “ since I have been distinguished by your Grace’s
 “ displeasure. The Patent which I have from
 “ his Majesty* makes me the sole Governor of

* See this at large in “ The State of the Case between the
 Lord Chamberlain, &c.” reprinted in the present volume.

“ a com-

“ a Company of Comedians for my life, and
 “ that franchise is to subsist in those who
 “ claim under me three years after my death ;
 “ there is nothing in it, as to the bestowing
 “ part, from the Crown, but what are meer
 “ transcripts of the Patent given by King
 “ Charles II. to Sir WILLIAM DAVENANT ;
 “ and though I might have had it to myself
 “ and heirs as well as he, I made a conscience
 “ and scruple of asking for my heirs an office
 “ that acquired a very particular turn and capa-
 “ city to execute. It is not, my Lord, very
 “ common in Courts, for a man to ask less,
 “ when he knows he may obtain more*. The

* In an undated Letter to his Lady, written about the
 year 1717, STEELE says, “ I am talking to my wife, and
 “ therefore I may speak my heart, and the vanity of it.
 “ I know, and you are witness, that I have served the
 “ Royal Family with an unreservedness due only to Hea-
 “ ven ; and I am now (I thank my Brother Whigs) not
 “ possessed of twenty shillings from the favour of the Court.
 “ The PLAYHOUSE it had been barbarity to deny at the
 “ Players’ request ; and therefore I do not allow it a favour.
 “ But I banish the very memory of these things ; nor
 “ will I expect any favour but what I must strike out of
 “ myself. By Tuesday’s post, I think, I shall be able to
 “ guess when I shall leave the Town, and turn all my
 “ thoughts to finish my Comedy. You will find I have
 “ got so much constancy and fortitude as to live my own
 “ way (within the rules of good-breeding and decency)
 “ wherever I am ; for I will not sacrifice your husband,
 “ and the father of the poor babes, to any one’s humour
 “ in the world. But to provide for, and do you good,
 “ is all my ambition.” Epistolary Correspondence, vol. I.
 p. 139. ed. 1787.

“ very

“ very night I received it, I participated the
 “ power and use of it, with relation to the pro-
 “ fits that should arise from it, between the
 “ gentlemen who invited me into the Licence
 “ upon his Majesty’s happy Accession to the
 “ Throne ; and it has flourished, in all manner
 “ of respects, to a degree unknown in an any
 “ former time *. When your Grace came to
 “ be Chamberlain †, from a generous design of
 “ making every office and authority the better
 “ for your wearing, your Grace was induced
 “ to send for me and the other Sharers, and
 “ in an absolute manner offered us a Licence,
 “ and demanded a resignation of the Patent,
 “ which I presumed as absolutely to refuse.
 “ This refusal I made in writing, and petitioned
 “ the King for his protection in the grant
 “ which he had given me. This matter rested
 “ thus for many months ; and the next molesta-
 “ tion we received, was by an order signed by
 “ your Grace to dismiss Mr. CIBBER. The
 “ Actors obeyed ; but I presumed to write to
 “ your Grace against it, and expressed my sor-
 “ row that you would give me no better occa-
 “ sion of shewing my Duty to you, but by
 “ bearing oppression from you. This freedom
 “ produced a message by your Kinsman and

* This is amply confirmed by CIBBER ; whose inge-
 nous account of STEELE’S generous conduct through
 the whole of this business, which reflects reciprocal ho-
 nour on them both, shall be printed at the conclusion of
 the THEATRE.

† The Duke’s appointment took place April 13, 1717.
 “ Secretary,

“ Secretary, whom I treated with as much de-
 “ ference and respect as any man living could
 “ the Duke of NEWCASTLE coming from the
 “ King. This message was, in your Grace’s
 “ name, ‘ to forbid me ever to write, speak, or
 “ visit you more.’ The Gentleman, I dare say,
 “ has told you, and will tell you, that I an-
 “ swered him almost in these very words :

‘ Sir, I beg of you to take notice of my
 ‘ manner, my voice, and my gesture, when I
 ‘ answer to this severe message; and let the
 ‘ Duke of NEWCASTLE know, that with the
 ‘ most profound submission and humility I re-
 ‘ ceived it, and protested to you, that I could
 ‘ have no message from any family, except the
 ‘ Royal one, that could give me half this mor-
 ‘ tification. If I have not fallen into phrases
 ‘ that speak me truly sorrowful and humble,
 ‘ use any you yourself can think of which are
 ‘ more so, and you will then best express my
 ‘ meaning. At the same time you may very
 ‘ truly say, that if any other man were Cham-
 ‘ berlain and should send me such a message,
 ‘ my reply should be as *haughty* as it is now
 ‘ *humble*.’

“ He left me, with a further declaration that
 “ my Patent should be prosecuted according to
 “ Law. I rested as well satisfied as one who
 “ had lost so powerful a Friend could, from a
 “ security in a still greater Power, that of the
 “ Laws of the Land; but I was soon after
 “ awakened out of this slumber, which was far
 “ from

“ from being an easy one, by hearing that your
 “ Grace had sent for Mr. BOOTH, and threatened
 “ a Sign Manual, which must necessarily disable
 “ me as to my defence, before you would pro-
 “ ceed against me according to Law. I did your
 “ Grace the justice to think it was impossible to
 “ be prevailed upon to do that. I assure your
 “ Grace, the great name on the top * of the
 “ paper did not give me more terror, than the
 “ name at the bottom † did sorrow. The Mi-
 “ nister who subscribes is answerable for what
 “ the King writes. Our Laws make our Prince
 “ Author of nothing but favour to his subjects.
 “ My patent cannot be hurt, except it can be
 “ proved it was obtained *per deceptionem*, as ac-
 “ cording to my duty I am to believe this order
 “ was; for it does by an artificial method in its
 “ effect destroy by his Sign Manual what is
 “ granted by his Great Seal, which had been
 “ impossible to have been brought about had
 “ the matter been fairly represented. All I
 “ could do was to represent it by Petition,
 “ which I delivered in your Grace’s presence on
 “ Friday night; the prayer of which was: *Vo-*
 “ *tre Suppliant donc prie très-humblement votre*
 “ *Majesté, qu’il ne reçoive aucune molestation, que*
 “ *par la Loi en juste forme de procès;* your Pe-
 “ titioner therefore most humbly prays he may
 “ not be any way molested but by due course of
 “ Law. I know not by what accident it hap-
 “ pened that my Petition was never read; but
 “ the next news I heard was the Order of Re-

* The King’s.

† The Duke of Newcastle’s.

“ vocation. But I must take the liberty to say,
 “ that his Majesty *must* grant the Ruffians men-
 “ tioned in the last Proclamation, what is de-
 “ nied unhappy me, a Trial by due course of
 “ Law. The Revocation came on the Satur-
 “ day : your Grace was so good as not to break
 “ the Sabbath upon me ; but the sufficient
 “ evil of this day, being Monday, is an order
 “ of silence. Your Grace will please to read
 “ them both over again, which are to this
 “ effect :

‘ Whereas, by our Royal Licence, bearing
 ‘ date the 18th Day of October, 1714, We did
 ‘ give and grant unto RICHARD STEELE, Esq.
 ‘ now Sir RICHARD STEELE, Knight, Mr. RO-
 ‘ BERT WILKS, Mr. COLLEY CIBBER, Mr.
 ‘ THOMAS DOGGET, and Mr. BARTON BOOTH,
 ‘ full power, licence, and authority, to form,
 ‘ constitute, and establish, a Company of Come-
 ‘ dians, now acting at the Theatre in Drury-
 ‘ Lane ; Therefore, for reforming the Come-
 ‘ dians, and for establishing the just and antient
 ‘ authority of the officers of our Household, and
 ‘ more especially of our Chamberlain ; We have
 ‘ thought fit to revoke the above-mentioned
 ‘ licence. And we do farther (as much as in us
 ‘ lies, and as by law we may) revoke and make
 ‘ void all other Licences, Powers, and Autho-
 ‘ rities whatsoever, and at any time heretofore,
 ‘ given by us to the said Sir RICHARD STEELE,
 ‘ ROBERT WILKS, COLLEY CIBBER, THOMAS
 ‘ DOGGET,

‘ DOGGET, and BARTON BOOTH, or to any of
‘ them severally.’

“ In pursuance of this, your Grace proceeds
“ thus : ‘ Whereas his Majesty has thought fit,
‘ by his Letters of Revocation, bearing date the
‘ 23d day of January, 1719, (for divers weighty
‘ reasons therein contained) to revoke his Royal
‘ Licence: For the effectual prevention of any
‘ future misbehaviour, in obedience to his Ma-
‘ jesty’s commands, I do, by virtue of my office
‘ of Chamberlain of his Majesty’s Household,
‘ hereby discharge you, the said Managers and
‘ Comedians at the said Theatre in Drury-Lane
‘ in Covent-Garden, from farther acting. Given
‘ under my hand and seal, this 25th Day of Ja-
‘ nuary, 1719.

‘ To the Gentlemen managing the Com-
‘ pany of Comedians at the Theatre in
‘ *Drury-Lane in Covent-Garden* ; and to
‘ all the Comedians and Actors there.’

“ It is observable, that though his Majesty
“ took great care to express himself according
“ to his gracious inclination, with much reserve
“ and care, that nothing but the Law should
“ hurt his poor Subject, in the words *as much*
“ *as in us lies, and as by Law we may*, your
“ Grace has been prevailed upon to supply the
“ defective hardship. I shall not say more, or
“ make stronger observations upon what you
“ have signed ; for my love to you will not let

“ me call this an act of yours, as my duty to
“ my Prince will not let me call it an act of
“ his: I wish your Grace had been as careful as
“ He in leaving me to the Law. But if you
“ will allow me to ask you one favour, before
“ you have quite broke my heart and spirit;
“ give me but the name of your Adviser, that is
“ to say, your Lawyer *, on this occasion; and
“ you shall see that it is not for want of skill in
“ life, that I am subjected to all the pains and
“ punishments to which those wicked ones are
“ exposed, who are described by the mono-
“ syllable *Poor*. When I know who has made
“ your Grace thus injure the best Master, and
“ best Servant that ever man had; I will teach
“ him the difference between Law and Justice.
“ He shall soon understand, that he who advises
“ how to escape the Law, and to do injustice to
“ his Fellow-subjects, is an agent of Hell.
“ Such a man, for a larger fee, would lend a
“ dark-lanthorn to a Murderer, which would be
“ but the same iniquity practised in a higher
“ degree; that would be more cruel, but not
“ more unjust. When I am sure of who he
“ is, I shall with justice use him as he does
“ with injustice use me; I shall so far imitate
“ him, as to be within the Law, when I am
“ endeavouring to starve him. I hope he is poor,
“ by selling poison to get himself food.

* This Lawyer was Sir Thomas Pengelly. See p. 72.

“ But

“ But I fear I grow transported beyond the
 “ respect that is due to your Grace’s presence;
 “ and protest to you, in the most solemn man-
 “ ner, that, rather than never to be well with
 “ you more, were myself and family only con-
 “ cerned in it, I would this moment resign my
 “ Patent for any employment of less profit
 “ that you would procure me: but my obliga-
 “ tions to your Grace will not discharge those
 “ which I am under to the rest of the world;
 “ I would not hurt any man now in India, for
 “ the favour of the greatest Man in England,
 “ or give up a Door-keeper of the Play-house
 “ to make myself so *. Therefore, your
 “ Grace,

* This application proving ineffectual, STEELE published soon after “ The State of the Case between the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty’s Household, and the Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians. With the opinions of Pemberton, Northey, and Parker, concerning the Theatre.” In this pamphlet he states the account of his loss by this proceeding, as follows:

Six hundred pounds a year for life, moderately	£.	s.	d.
valued, amounts to	—	—	6000 0 0
Three years after my life	—	—	1800 0 0
My share in the scenes, stock, &c.	—	—	1000 0 0
The profit of acting my own plays already written, or which I may write	—	—	1000 0 0
			Total £. 9800 0 0

“ He then declares he never did one act to provoke this
 “ attempt; nor,” says he, “ does the Chamberlain pretend
 “ to assign any direct reason of forfeiture, but openly and
 “ wittingly declares he will ruin STEELE; which, in a man
 “ in his circumstances against one in mine, is as great sa
 “ the

“ Grace, I hope, will forgive me, that to gra-
 “ tify you I do not consign to distress and po-
 “ verty above sixty families, who all live com-
 “ fortably, many of them plentifully, under my
 “ present jurisdiction *. When I resign them,
 “ they may be governed by your Grace’s suc-
 “ cessors †, in your office, as they have been
 “ by your predecessors, according to humour
 “ and caprice, and not reason and justice. In
 “ their defence and my own, I deny all alle-
 “ gations of voluntary neglect imputed to me
 “ or them, or undue demands made upon the
 “ subject by me or them; and shall always,

“ the humour of Malagene, in the comedy, who valued
 “ himself upon his activity in tripping-up cripples. All
 “ this is done against a man, to whom Whig, Tory, Ro-
 “ man Catholic, Dissenter, Native, Foreigner, owe zeal
 “ and good-will for good offices endeavoured towards every
 “ one of their civil rights; and their kind wishes for him
 “ are but a just return. But what ought to weigh most
 “ with his Lordship the Chamberlain, is my zeal for his
 “ Master; of which I shall at present say no more than
 “ that his Lordship and many others may perhaps have
 “ done more for the House of Hanover than I have; but
 “ I am the only man in his Majesty’s dominions who
 “ did all he could.” *State of the Case, &c. p. 30.*

* It is observable, that our Author’s friend, Mr. Walpole,
 was at this time in disfavour at Court, having resigned his
 post of First Commissioner of the Treasury on the 10th of
 April, 1717, and was not replaced till April 2, 1721; pre-
 sently after which, viz. on the 18th of May following, Sir
 Richard was also restored to his office of Comptroller of
 the Theatre.

† The Duke of Bolton was the immediate predecessor;
 the Duke of Grafton the successor.

“ with

“ with safety to my honour, and duty to the
 “ rest of the world, and no other reserve, be,
 “ my LORD,

“ Your Grace’s most obliged,
 “ most devoted, and
 “ obedient humble servant,
 “ RICHARD STEELE.”

“ Villiers-street, York-
 “ Buildings, Jan. 25,
 “ 1719-20.

N^o 9. SATURDAY, *January 30, 1719-20.*

—*Tu contra audentior ito.* VIRG. ÆN. vi. 95.

‘ For Fate still will have
 ‘ A kind chance for the brave.’

D’URFEY’s Translation.

SINCE I had the honour of an application from Sir RICHARD STEELE, a person whom, perhaps, I know less, but love more, than any other gentleman in England does that INJURED KNIGHT; I say, since I received that application, I have left no stone unturned, no means unpractised, to find out the Lawyer he appears so urgent to be acquainted with, in the latter end of his Epistle to a Noble Lord. I must acknowledge I have gone so far as to use unlawful means against unlawful acts, and sent the Paper, which was advised and drawn up by that slender limb

of the law, to a person who has, in his neighbourhood, the reputation of skill in the black art. This learned Sage, as their way is, has taken all the four-and-twenty letters, and shuffled them together, according to the rules which they follow when they would decipher the man who has writ the instrument examined. He says, the party is partly an *able*, and partly an *unable* man; and he tells me, if I think fit to turn the syllables inclosed all manner of ways, and transpose them, and write them backwards, forwards, and sideways, and then begin at the middle, as Conjurors work, and the (most common) Lawyers talk, I shall come at his name and qualifications. The first syllable he sends me is *Pen*, which in the *Welsh* signifies head; the next syllable, he intimates, is in the word *Gelding*, which, in the old Saxon, signifies a *fourfooted Eunuch*; and the last syllable, he says, will appear to be *Ly*, which is a word well known in English, and need not be translated. With these words and *explications*, my Doctor informs me, I am to make a word that signifies some *capacity, transparency*; and, together with all that, something of *head-piece*. The syllables, denoting disguised folly and visible falsehood at once, shall be *Gelly*; and the letters which express his something of capacity, shall be *Pen* *; which, put together as

* Sir Thoms Pengelly, then Prime Serjeant; afterwards (1726) Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He died in 1730.

children do when they spell, will make G——n. The Conjuror lays a great stress upon the merit of his observing, that *Pen* and *Ly* should be in the name who gives wicked council under his hand; but I stick rather to the *Welsh* word *Pen*, as being safer in so doing; for, according to G——n's own way of thinking, when you do the same mischief by a more obscure way, it is quite as well as if you writ with professed malice, as to the operation upon your adversary. This the *learned* call acting by innuendo's, which they allow to be a very safe way of doing mischief, and most used of any method in modern practice; *innuendo* is the gerund of a verb in Latin, which signifies to nod, and the learned are mightily given to that way of expressing themselves; and sometimes, when their heads shake with emptiness, they seem to do it from the load of too much matter; but it is remarkable, that grave men do it much more than wise ones. If they have a good stammer and a little hesitation; and then, when they are got in, talk very fast, it is never the worse. But this latter cannot be practised but by blockheads of life and vivacity. G——n, I have always observed, sticks to the grave way, and by that means is much attended to and esteemed by all who are sincerely dull. Thus, though he is never right towards the question, he never stumbles; and he would, if he had not brought an examination upon himself by this counsel, have gone on creditably to his life's end, and been

been buried among those fools, who will always, for want of spirit to commit conspicuous errors, be laid in the dust as wise ones of this world.

A man would imagine, that nothing but the utmost need and necessity could possibly urge or prompt man to do injury to man. Wolves, lions, and tigers, are amicable to wolves, lions, and tigers; nor does any species below us prey upon each other, till urged by the sharpness of hunger to such a degree, as makes appetite too strong for the other instincts of nature. This puts me in mind of the good-natured apothecary "in Caius Marius" of OTWAY, from SHAKESPEAR's "Romeo and Juliet;" this good creature does not sell poison but much against his will. It may, perhaps, entertain the reader, to hear the description of his person and fortune, in this speech of young Marius in the Play :

" I do remember an Apothecary,
 " That dwelt about this rendezvous of Death;
 " Meagre and very rueful were his looks;
 " Sharp misery had worn him to the bones;
 " And in his needy shop a tortoise hung,
 " An allegator stuff'd, and other skins
 " Of ill-shap'd fishes; and about his shelves
 " A beggarly account of empty boxes,
 " Green earthen pots, bladders, and musty feeds:
 " Remnants of packthread, and old cakes of roses
 " Were thinly scatter'd to make up a show."

When a dose of poison was demanded of him, the Dialogue runs thus :

" *Apoth.*

- “ *Apoth.* Such mortal drugs I have, but Roman
 “ law
 “ Speaks death to any he that utters ’em.
 “ *Mar. Jun.* Art thou so base, and full of
 “ wretchedness,
 “ Yet fear’st to die? Famine is in thy cheeks,
 “ Need and oppression stareth in thy eyes,
 “ Contempt and beggary hang on thy back ;
 “ The world is not thy friend, nor the world’s law ;
 “ The world affords no law to make thee rich :
 “ Then be not poor, but break it, and take this.”

I must again repeat one line of deep melancholy, which can be said of no man but one in this kingdom :

“ The world is not thy friend, nor the world’s
 “ law.”

The application which I would make of all this is, that a man, who makes it his business and study to give advice to men who consult them in order to do others injury, appears, to the eye of Reason, more base, more wretched, and more wicked, than this poor Apothecary, inasmuch as the Lawyer usually destroys in plenty and ease, as the other did it in penury and want. When I cast my eye upon such a mischievous oracle, standing by his desk, covered with sheep-skin, and stained by his order, not only for the ruin of one person, but whole families and communities, is not this figure extremely like the above-mentioned Apothecary? I can think of his papers but as the composition

position of rags bearing a magical force, by which they reduce those (upon whom they operate) to rags again. I am sure no man truly learned in the laws of his country, and upright in the application of that knowledge, will read these thoughts without being as full of disdain against these underminers of justice, as I am while I write them. Advice to do justice with safety is very pernicious, when it only secures, in doing ill, one private man against another, when it concerns only villagers and neighbours in a state of opposition; but when it is applied to humour great men in their wantonness of power, in order to ruin their inferiors, for sport and vanity only, and trample upon laws as they break hedges to pursue hares; I say, in such cases, the iniquity dilates itself, and, as the worker grows in credit and reputation, the contagion spreads itself further, his sins increase like that of the commissary of health in Italy, whose profession fell-in pat with his genius, and gave him most pleasing opportunities of poisoning his fellow-citizens. To this person's name, which is injured by being put behind his barber, you read of a column of infamy, in Mr. ADDISON'S Travels, which that amiable Author recorded from as great humanity as PLATEA had malice; I say, you read there to that Anti-hero the following inscription, which I shall take as a copy for the service of the like malefactors, who shall, by intercepting justice, or contriving injuries, in any degree, be hurtful to the meanest
of

of my fellow-creatures. All shall have a pretence to such monuments; who, employed by the publick; (and all who are so are, in a kind, commissaries for its health) imitate WILLIAM PLATEA, as they are respectively and more immediately concerned for the property, the honour, or liberty of their country.

I am afraid I shall injure it in the translation.

See ADDISON's Travels, p. 30.

Hic ubi, &c.

“ In the space around this pillar, once stood
 “ the house and shop of JOHN JACOB MORA,
 “ Barber, who, in concert with WILLIAM
 “ PLATEA, Commissary of Health in this city,
 “ and others, in the midst of a public Pesti-
 “ lence, contrived, by the use of deadly drugs
 “ and unguents, the destruction of numbers of
 “ his fellow-citizens. These two, after being
 “ pronounced enemies to their country, were
 “ conveyed in a high carr to the most fre-
 “ quented part of the city, where, after their
 “ right hands were cut off, they were affixed to
 “ a wheel; upon which they lay extended, in
 “ the utmost torment, for six hours, till the
 “ injured people could no longer bear their suf-
 “ ferings, but demanded them to be put to
 “ death; upon which, the executioner cut their
 “ throats, and burnt their bodies. But, lest
 “ there should be any remains of these mis-
 “ creants before the eyes of men, the Senate
 “ ordered their ashes to be thrown into the
 “ river; and, to eternize this justice, they com-
 “ manded that house, which was the shop of
 “ their

“ their mischiefs, to be levelled to the earth,
 “ and nothing ever to be erected within the
 “ space except this pillar, which is to be for
 “ ever called ‘ The Column of Infamy.’ Fly,
 “ from it all good citizens, fly, and believe
 “ there is contagion in the place that was once
 “ inhabited by MORA and PLATTA.”

* * * “ On Monday next will be published, *The CRISIS* of PROPERTY: An argument proving that the Annuitants for Ninety-nine years, as such, are not in the condition of other subjects of Great Britain, but by compact with the Legislature are exempt from any new direction relating to the said estates. By Sir RICHARD STEELE, Member of Parliament, and Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians. To be had at the same places with this Paper; and at J. Brotherton’s in Cornhill. Price 6d.” THEATRE in folio.

N° 10. TUESDAY, *February 2, 1719-20.*

‘ ——— The happy age
 ‘ Sees no abuse of power but on the Stage.’
 PROLOGUE.

THE INJURED KNIGHT, the deprived Governor (as far as force can do it) of the Royal Company of Comedians; has no conspicuous person besides myself; and one would think him beside himself, to address to me for relief

relief against powerful men; but he persists to do so, and says we live in a country where innocence and right cannot be oppressed any longer than while the circumstances are secret, hid from the world, and shut out of the courts of law by artifice, violence, or oppression. The Mythologists figure Justice in the form of a blind matron, in order to express that she is not to be taken or prejudiced by outward shows of fortune, favour, beauty, wit, or eloquence, which are but the outside of men's souls and persons; but that she is equally to be averse to commiseration and cruelty, and the weakness of anger and affection are equally received at the eye, against giving right judgement, and therefore it was that the Ancients gave Justice ears, but not eyes. Little insinuations have been uttered and suggested about the town, to the disparagement of this tenure, which he denies to have had any imperfection in it; and I cannot but think his adversaries are well aware of it, or else they would not attack him in a way so invidious to themselves, as that of denying him the due course of law; but it is the goodness of Providence, that many designers of evil want capacity to carry it on; and, from the narrowness of their own spirits, think they have done their business, when they have brought those whom they hate (though they hate them for no other reason but because they have injured them) to poverty and disgrace; they fondly imagine, because they cannot bear riches and titles

titles with moderation, there are not men who can bear reproaches and want with patience; the folly of this proceeding shews the melancholy condition in which some are, to wit, the being incapable of seeing any but the advantageous side of their own affairs. This is the cause of all Noblemen as well as Commoners of England; if the latter cannot enjoy property under a Patent, why should it be admitted that the former should enjoy honour under a Patent? The King is lord paramount of all property, as well as of all honour; and all his people, till he has given one or other, stand before him under his protection, pursuing honest arts and professions towards the attainment of both, or either of them. The strongest grant he can make is by his Letters Patents; and if this instrument, in the hands of a Nobleman, can destroy the same instrument in the hands of a Commoner, the man of less quality can depend upon nothing given him by this kind of conveyance. Add to this, that the Nobleman cannot only, by the force of the same sort of power, seize the right of the Commoner thus conveyed; I say, seize this sort of estate in the Commoner, though that by which he dispossesses him is just the same; but also by patent beget Judges and Legislators to determine of all the rest of the property in Commoners. What comfort can the deprived person have greater, than in the reflection upon his own part, against the late bill of Peerage? But I shall go no further

theron this head, only shew the Town, by printing the two following Prologues *, that the Governor of the Theatre bent all his skill and inclination upon serving and celebrating his Royal Master, who gave him that distinction.

Pro-

* The first of these Prologues is probably that which was "INTENDED to have been spoken in the summer of 1718, when Sir RICHARD STEELE, with Bishop HODLY and Dr. SAMUEL CLARKE, made a visit of some days at Blenheim-house, by invitation; where, he found, the ladies and gentlemen of the family, and a few of the neighbourhood, had got up the tragedy of "All for Love," to entertain the Duke of MARLBOROUGH. Lady BATEMAN (one of his Grace's grand-daughters by the Earl of SUNDERLAND), who played the part of CLEOPATRA, had in vain applied to Sir RICHARD STEELE for a Prologue on that extraordinary occasion, and seemed chagrined at the disappointment. At night, when the family retired, the Bishop desired pen, ink, and paper, might be brought to his chamber; and, the next morning at breakfast, presented to Lady BATEMAN an excellent "Prologue;" which she spoke, the same evening, to the Duke and Dutchess, his Grace shedding tears at the unexpected compliment from a favourite grand-child. In the course of the play, Sir RICHARD, who sat next to the Bishop, often observed how well and feelingly Captain FISHE performed the part of ANTONY. This gentleman, who had been the Duke's page, had distinguished himself in the army, and, as I have been informed, died a Lieutenant-colonel. In one of the scenes where FISHE was very sweet upon his CLEOPATRA, Sir RICHARD whispered the Bishop, "I doubt this 'Fishe' is 'Flesh,' my Lord."—I must mention another incident at their going away. Sir RICHARD said to the Bishop, "Does your Lordship give money to 'all these fellows in laced coats and ruffles?" "No doubt," replied the Bishop. "I have not enough," said the Knight; and when he passed by them in the hall, he accosted them

Prologue intended * for "ALL FOR LOVE"
Revived.

SINCE faint is praise which living merit draws,
And always posthumous is true applause;
Deny not worth, far from your eyes remov'd,
Its late reward to be rever'd and lov'd.
To Poetry devoted be this night,
And kill not, with your paulty cares, delight;
See how great DRYDEN could your Sires surprize,
Ere Funds were given, or Stocks could fall or rise,
Ere Avarice had banish'd Love and Truth,
And with its vile contagion seiz'd ev'n Youth;

in a speech, telling them, "that he had found them *men of taste*, and, as such, invited them all to Drury-lane theatre, to whatever play they should please to bespeak," he having then a share in the patent. He obtained this in 1714, by the friendship of the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, which he owed to a pleasant repartee (reported to the Duke, and taken as it was meant) on his Grace's preferring his relations. See "Biographia Britannica," vol. VI. p. 3829. Bishop HOADLY and Sir RICHARD STEELE had long been connected as public men and fellow-labourers in the cause of liberty. The TATLER took share in the controversy with Bishop BLACKALL; and Mr. HOADLY was one of the Five Friends, who, in 1714, revised and corrected STEELE's "Crisis" before it was printed. Mr. ADDISON, Mr. LECHMERE, Mr. MOORE, and Mr. MINSHULL, were the other four. Mr. HOADLY was also the reputed author of "A Dedication to his Holiness CLEMENT XI," an admirable piece of grave humour, signed "RICHARD STEELE," being prefixed to his "Account of the State of the Roman-catholic Religion, throughout the World," published in 1715." J. DUNCOMBE.

* Kept back, perhaps, in compliment to his Friend Bishop HOADLY; whose hasty "Prologue" is mentioned in the preceding note, p. 81.

When

When Vice had yet no other Fools to show,
 But the well-natur'd Cully and the Beau ;
 'Twas " All for Love the World well lost" of old,
 But now for Money better bought and sold.

For shame, that's only yours, which well you give ;
 Neglect not life, only for means to live ;
 Look on yourselves, ye gaming race, with scorn,
 And see what images these scenes adorn ;
 While Love and Fame alternately prevail,
 As the great Master works the charming tale.
 Compare the generous passions he excites,
 To the fell anguish of your gaming nights,
 When round pale boards you sit with fiendlike pain,
 For base vicissitudes of loss and gain ;
 When Robbers, Beggars, Peers, with silent hate,
 And throbbing breasts, to be each other, wait.
 When thus our Bard (resist him if you can)
 Has fairly from the Gamester won the Man ;
 Raise thyself still—and the past times survey,
 Since first the age receiv'd this tow'ring Play,
 Since careless Luxury its force could prove
 In one consent the " World well lost for Love."
 Reflect how Care pursues her thoughtless hours,
 And Fear the adder lurking in the flowers ;
 Think on great WILLIAM, England's shame and pride,
 And how unthank'd the toiling Hero dy'd,
 On baffled Virtue, Fortune vainly kind,
 Think on your conquests to your foes consign'd ;
 But think, though in tempestuous seasons tost,
 While Liberty is safe, the World not lost.

Prologue designed for "LUCIUS KING OF
BRITAIN;" written by Mrs. MANLEY*,
1717.

NAT. LEE—for Buskins fam'd—would often say,
To Stage-success he had a certain way;
Something for all the People must be done,
And, in some circumstance, each order won;
This *he* thought easy as to make a treat,
And for a Tragedy gave this receipt:

Take me, said he, a Princess young and fair,
Then take a blooming Victor flush'd with war;
Let him not owe, to vain report, renown,
But in the Lady's *sight* cut squadrons down;
Let him, whom they *themselves* saw win the field,
Him, to whose sword they saw whole armies yield,
Approach the Heroine—with dread surprize,
And own no valour proof against bright eyes!
The Boxes are your own—the thing is hit;
And Ladies, as they near each other sit,
Cry — "Ah! how movingly that scene is writ!"

For all the rest, with ease, delights you'll shape;
Write for the Heroes in the Pit—a Rape;
Give the first Gallery a Ghost,—on th' Upper
Bestow, though at this distance, a good Supper.
Thus, all their fancies working their own way,
They're pleas'd, and think they owe it to the Play.

But the ambitious Author of these scenes
With no low arts to court your favour means.
With Her; success and disappointment move
On the just laws of Empire and of Love!
—In wanton ease—ye Britons, learn to know,
Nor slight, in present welfare, distant woe!

* See THEATRE, N^o XXVI.

Rescued from foreign bonds, the happy age
 Sees no abuse of Power, but on the Stage :
 The Briton here beholds the Tyrant bleed,
 The Just through all the mazes of their fate succeed ;
 Our opening earth, and our descending sky,
 Our bowl, our dagger, ready wrath supply,
 And, at the Poet's nod, Kings reign or die. }
 On such dire forms long shall this happy Isle,
 As only Stage-events, in safety smile ;
 While her great King magnificently spares,
 Conquers and wins, and deeds of grace prepares !
 On *Dungeon*-guilt, *He* gleams of mercy throws,
 And his each action Heaven's Vicegerent shows.

N^o 11. SATURDAY, February 6, 1719-20.

— *Moveat Fortuna tumultus,*

Quantum hinc imminuet ? HOR. 2 Sat. ii. 126.

‘ Let Fortune frown, and further tumults raise,
 ‘ From Me how little can she take ?’ DUNCOMBE.

THE INJURED KNIGHT still wants my
 favour and protection ; which I shall not
 deny him, till I see greater persons concern
 themselves to do him justice. A Pamphlet was
 yesterday put into my hands by an hawker,
 which bears for its title, “ The Characters and
 “ Conduct of Sir JOHN EDGAR, called by him-
 “ self sole Monarch of the Stage in Drury-Lane ;

“ and his Three Deputy Governors. In Two Letters to Sir JOHN EDGAR *.” If the Reader will have patience, he shall have some kind of answer, for the present, in behalf of Sir RICHARD STEELE. The Pamphlet observes upon its entrance (taking me for an imaginary person), that he is seldom honest (the Author speaks it in the hardest terms) who is distinguished by an *Alias*. Thus he pleasantly intimates Sir RICHARD is Sir JOHN, according to the prevailing humour of Masquerade.

It is very true, I own, an *Alias* is an ill sign; but that is to be understood according to the motive for disguise. If a man is disguised in order to do great and worthy actions, which are too sublime for his humble means and condition, or from a just and modest reflection that his personal infirmities would tarnish his argument, and therefore assumes, for the sake of virtue, an imaginary character; I say, in this case, it is laudable to wear a mask: but he who assumes one for any other purpose, does a very ill thing; but not a baser than the man who, without any name at all, traduces those to whom he dare not show himself. There is no *Alias* in a Sessions-paper, that travels through Holbourn † to the end of his labours, was ever

* These shall be given at the end of the Theatre.

† A recent alteration may just make it proper to observe, that this was formerly the road to Tyburn, for many years the usual spot for the execution of criminals.

guilty

guilty of a meaner thing than this is, let it concern whom it will.

The next circumstance which Mr. WHATD'CALL, or *Alias*, points at, is, that the style of the Knight is *Tipperarian*; and then shews that he finds him out to be such by his phrase, as LIVY was discovered by his *Patavinity*. I am not much offended at his similitude to LIVY, because it is not said that he does not resemble him in other matters also. Indeed, he has more pretensions to a likeness in other circumstances than this named; for he was born in Dublin. The man goes on in so angry a way, that he exalts him whom he would depress. He says, Sir RICHARD has done the Stage more hurt than "any other hundred men." The world is so wicked, that it is hardly a disparagement to be great, even in ill: and this ability of hurting it is very unskilful to acknowledge, when the Author designed to make him inconsiderable. Mr. WHATD'CALL does not know the world, or he would not allow him any capacity for exerting himself in the most fashionable sort of ambition since he and I knew the world. He says, in the 17th page, "You," Sir JOHN, "are descended from a Trooper's horse." The Reader is to understand, that he fancies he is talking to Sir RICHARD all this while. But it may perhaps fall in my way to give an abstract of the life of this man whom it is thought thus necessary to undo and disparage. When I do that, it will appear, that when he mounted a

War-horse, with a great sword in his hand, and planted himself behind King WILLIAM the Third, against LEWIS the Fourteenth, he lost the succession to a very good estate in the county of Wexford in Ireland, from the same humour which he has pursued ever since, of preferring the state of his mind to that of his fortune. When he cocked his hat, and put on a broad sword, jack-boots, and shoulder-belt, under the command of the unfortunate Duke of ORMOND, he was not acquainted with his own parts, and did not then know he should ever have been able (as has since appeared in the case of *Dunkirk*) to demolish a fortified town with a goose-quill.

The next objection of consequence is, “His purse and yours seem to be contrived like a certain Knight’s *Fishpool*; the purses let out gold, as the *Fishpool* does water, as they take it in.” This point I reserve till another occasion, and shall at present say no more but this very seriously: Let the Gentleman have but the freedom of the Laws, and be permitted to do good to himself and others, and his condition is as happy as that of any subject the King has. All the imprudence he has been guilty of was, that he believed, in spite of all opposition, people would be convinced that two and two make four; with the further assurance, which he had till very lately, that he should, as well as other men, have the protection of the Laws of the Land in all his rights.

WHATD'CALL mentions an engine for Hoop-petticoats, which makes them more easy and commodious to the wearer, closes about the limbs in going into a coach or any other narrow place, and expands itself when at liberty, without the trouble or care of the Lady to adjust herself. Sir RICHARD introduced the inventor, Mr. ROLLOS, who lives in Maidenhead-lane, and instructed him, out of regard to his ingenuity, and the service this would be to the Fair-sex, in the method of obtaining a patent; but none of the Knight's gold went this way; nor need he be concerned, though it were thought true, that, according to Mr. WHATD'CALL, he did not do this: "out of any sordid
 "design of gain, but for the service of the
 "Ladies petticoats." I shall go again to the Conjuror about this: How came it known to this Author? who likes him the worse for his regard to women?—I shall trace this—but shall do it with more caution than in a late enquiry*; wherein, for want of knowledge of the High Dutch, I mistook *Gelding* for *Guelt*, and *Guelt* signifies *Money*; thus the Welsh word for *Head*, and the Dutch for *Money*, with the English *Ly*, express one who turns his head to lye for Money. Most of the rest of his discourse is turned upon Sir RICHARD's disobedience to *the Rules of the Stage*, which he does not so much at present attend to, as to know how he *has offended the Larws of the Land*.

* See above, p. 72.

I have

I have dwelt too long upon these particulars, for which I beg the Reader's pardon; and, leaving this writer to the "employment of a Pedant," which odd phrase I have from his own Letter, go on to vindicate my Friend in that part of his character which is essential to him to support. It is frequently said in his Writings, that all merit consists in the regulation of the will; and I remember, on that subject he quotes a sentiment which Sir RICHARD BLACKMORE uttered in his company; the expression was this: "He who rejoices at the superior merit of another man, knows a greater thing of himself than he possibly can know of another man." No man living has more reason to be pleased on this account than this Gentleman; and, as he is traduced in this manner from nameless Authors, let us see who are obliged in honour to enquire into this usage.

The Patrons of an Author are usually understood to be those to whom he has dedicated his Writings; they at the head of his, as they occur in the order of Publication, are Mr. ADDISON¹; Mr. MAYNWARING², Mr. WORTLEY MONTAGUE³, Lord HALIFAX⁴, the Duke of

¹ The Dedication to "The Tender Husband," 1704.

² The TATLER, vol. I. 1710.

³ The TATLER, vol. II. 1710; and SPECTATOR, vol. II. 1711.

⁴ The TATLER, vol. IV. 1711.

MARLBOROUGH¹, Sir MILES WHARTON², Mr. METHUEN³, Lord CADOGAN⁴, Mr. PULTE-NEY⁵, Lord FINCH⁶, Mr. STANHOPE⁷, Mr. CONGREVE⁸, Mr. WALPOLE⁹, DR. GARTH¹⁰, Lord PELHAM¹¹, who is now a Duke, if he allows King GEORGE's patent to be a good Title; I say, all these illustrious names are concerned, by the rules of social life, to do him justice, who endeavoured to do it to them; especially when that justice is demanded in the lowest degree it can. He does not ask to be taken upon content for a man of any desert, or so much as an innocent one. He desires they, and all his friends, would admit that he is guilty of all manner of misdemeanors; but as such, let him be tried by the Laws; he may, I think, very well ask this of them, whenever

¹ The SPECTATOR, vol. IV. 1712.

² See STEELE'S "Letters to his Friends," vol. II. p. 349. ed. 1787.

³ The SPECTATOR, vol. VII. 1713.

⁴ The GUARDIAN, vol. I. 1713.

⁵ The GUARDIAN, vol. II. 1713.

⁶ "Romish Ecclesiastical History of late Years," 1714.

⁷ The ENGLISHMAN, vol. I. 1714.

⁸ Collection of "Poetical Miscellanies," 1714.

⁹ "Apology for himself and his Writings," 1715.

¹⁰ The LOVER and READER, 1715.

¹¹ "Political Writings," 1715.

It is somewhat singular that neither SUNDERLAND, COWPER, nor CARLETON, are here enumerated, to each of whom our Author had dedicated. He mentions Mr. MAYNWARING, who died in 1712; but has omitted three other of his deceased patrons, Lord CUTTS, Lord SOMERS, and the Earl of WHARTON.

he has opportunity, by petition, or otherwise, to any person, or in any place, to assert his pretensions to property, which are as just as those to life and air. In the mean time, I shall do all I can for the Gentleman in other matters which are not to be neglected, though a man cannot with a good grace appear in them himself. Turning over the Pamphlet, I observe an insinuation against his beauty; the defamer has this phrase in his first page: "Your black peruke, and your dusky countenance." His periwig is brown only; and he is so far from having a dusky countenance, that all orders of men smile upon him, who are not influenced by one or two countenances exactly of this description; but they are of God's making, though they have never looked up to the Author of them since they were made. This treatment of a visage so well known is an impudence that transcends all example; and I have ordered new editions of his face, after KNELLER, THORNHILL, and RICHARDSON, to disabuse mankind in this particular. He is painted by the first *resolute*, by the second *thoughtful*, and by the third *indolent*. Sir GODFREY bewailed that CARRACIO was not living when he fate to him; and, when he took pencil in hand, repeated this sentence out of Mr. STEELE's Epistle to the Bailiff of Stockbridge: "He is gone but a little way in the course of Virtue, who cannot bear reproach for her sake," You may observe a roughness in the portraiture, from the rigour
of

of that thought, which has occasioned that most Ladies choose Mr. RICHARDSON'S Work rather than Sir GODFREY'S.

There is a great demand for these figures at présent, by reason of his long and present sufferings, occasioned by some shallow contrivers; who are got into a whim of attempting to drown ducks. But Women are the best judges of beauty, and in their language no words of praise are allowed to *ugly fellows*. I shall therefore put an end to all this clutter, by printing this Letter, which came from a young Lady of great merit and understanding.

“ To Sir JOHN EDGAR,

“ SIR,

Feb. 3, 1719-20.

“ Not having the honour to be personally
 “ known to that worthy Knight and Patriot
 “ Sir RICHARD STEELE, makes me, in the
 “ name of all the Spinsters of Great-Britain,
 “ make use of this way to publish our grati-
 “ tude for the many great and signal services
 “ he has done his country, especially in this
 “ présent session of Parliament. The many
 “ brave and noble stands he made for the pub-
 “ lic good are so well known, that I will not
 “ enumerate them; but only mention those
 “ that more immediately concern us *Spinsters*,
 “ the *Woollen Manufactory*, and the *Annuities* *.

“ When

* “ The Books that were laid open at Garraway's Coffee-house in Exchange Yesterday for a Subscription of
 1,500,000*l*.

“ When I call myself a Spinster, I would be
 “ understood to be one of those who could sa-
 “ crifice all her vanities to the good of her
 “ country ; and to that end never desire any
 “ other cloathing than the Manufacture of it
 “ can produce. After this declaration of my
 “ public spirit, you must believe it is with the
 “ greatest indignation, that we see our only Pa-
 “ tron, and Country’s Patriot, injured in a man-
 “ ner, that even the Authors of his misfor-
 “ tunes have nothing to say in justification of
 “ their proceedings. Heavens ! is merit become
 “ a crime ? for I have heard of no fault that is
 “ alledged against him ; but he must suffer be-
 “ cause he has been used to it. I find I grow
 “ warm, and therefore will not trust my sex’s
 “ weakness with so meritorious a cause, but
 “ refer it to you ; not doubting your assistance,
 “ who have, in all your Papers, shewed your-
 “ self to be a friend to Virtue, Justice, and Hu-
 “ manity. Here, Sir, is a theme large enough
 “ to expatiate on, and worthy your skilful pen.
 “ Remember, that, while you are celebrating
 “ Virtue, you discourage Vice ; and at one
 “ time serve your Country in a double capacity.
 “ How often has our Hero done so !

1,500,000*l.* under the name of “ The Annuity Company,”
 for purchasing Government Securities, granting Annu-
 ities for Life, and lending money to merchants to pay their
 Duties to the Crown, on good securities, will continue
 open this day at the same place, in order to finish the said
 Subscription.” Post-boy, Feb. 8, 1719-20.

“ Whose

" Whose every thought, and every line,
 " Our judgments ripen, and our tastes refine ;
 " Such is his Wit as need no Critic fear,
 " And the chaste Vestal unconcern'd might hear :
 " Such as can never Innocence defile,
 " Yet from the most severe extort a smile."

EUSDEN.

" Forgive, Sir, the overflowing of a grateful
 " heart, and vouchsafe this a place in one of
 " your Papers ; and you'll oblige your most
 " humble and most obedient servant,

" REBECCA WOOLPACK."

I am so well pleased with this eulogium of my Friend from a deserving Woman, that I long to see Mr. WHATD'CALL, to instruct him in the ceremony which he wants to be informed of, to wit, what is usual between a Mortal and a Ghost ; for he is pleased to call me a Phantom. Whenever he thinks fit to come to that interview, I assure him the Ghost will not vanish, if the Mortal does not run away *.

* This and the following Number produced from DENNIS a Third and a Fourth Letter " On the Character and Conduct of Sir JOHN EDGAR."

N^o 12. TUESDAY, February 9, 1719-20.

— *Servum pecus! ut mihi sæpe*
Bilem, sæpe jocum—— HOR. I Ep. xix. 19.
 ‘Ye servile race
 ‘Of Mimics, will ye still provoke my spleen,
 ‘And make me burst with laughter and chagrin?’
 DUNCOMBE.

THE INJURED KNIGHT shall have abundant satisfaction against WHATD’CALL, whom, by the help of my Conjuror, I have found out; I shall hunt the wild beast to his *Den*: Is* any one so silly to believe I will name him †? No; that would be to spoil my own sport, for the animal is good for nothing but for the chace. Carrion might live in safety, if they would not be mischievous; but when they run into people’s houses, their worthlessness is no longer a protection, and the being good for nothing is lost to them, by their doing mischief. Otters, Polecats, Foxes, Kites, and Screech-owls, might be safe in the respective darkneses and coverts, which Nature has as-

* Mr. DENNIS, the Author of the “Character of Sir JOHN EDGAR.”

† This day is published, “A Critick no Wit; or Remarks on Mr. DENNIS’s late Play, called “The Invader of his Country:” in a Letter from a School-boy to the Author. *Fronti nulla Fides*. Price 6d.” Postboy, Dec. 1, 1719.

signed

signed for those of her living creatures, whom, from the obscenity of their make, and reptility of their being, she has appointed to shun the day, and not, till all nobler creatures are at rest, to adventure even into twilight, or look up at the Moon. *Whata'call* is of this sort; and when he ever, by force of appetite, is obliged to appear among men, you see in him a pain under the broad day-light; his motion is quick and sudden, turning on all sides, with a suspicion of every object, as if he had done or feared some extraordinary mischief; he is alarmed like an Italian Stabber*, but then he looks so causelessly suspicious, as if nothing but celibacy preserved him from being an innocent cuckold. You see wickedness in his meaning, but folly of countenance, that betrays him to be unfit for the execution of it †. It is pleasant to hear him talk of beauty, in opposition to Sir RICHARD; *black Wig* and *dusky Countenance* quoth'a! I defy all the Virtuofos in Europe to name either the colour of his wig or his face; and yet I must own no man dresses more properly; for as nothing comes of nothing, so nothing agrees with nothing. It must be acknowledged, by many indications, he is of the human race, but of what distinction or rank of them I will not dare to say; the complexions of mankind are white,

* See the note in p. 100.

† There is a print of DENNIS, which is extremely rare. Mr. BINDLEY possesses one.

H

black,

black, and tawny; *Whata'd'call* is not any one of these, and yet a spice of all; I could mix an ingredient to paint him with, but not without lead, charcoal, burnt brass, and goose-grease; for there is in it a metalline tincture of all these under-colours, with an effluvium that shines upon them, as you may have observed in the courser sort of tallow-candles. It is a jest for him to talk of beauty to Sir RICHARD, so far as to their complexions—Sir RICHARD is a little lame, but *Whata'd'call* cannot walk; no, he starts, stares, and looks round him at every promotion, or rather jerk of his person forward. He looks back, not for any thing he has forgot, but from a memory that he has nothing, and may be asked for something. This constant shuffle of haste, without speed, makes the man thought a little touched; but the vacant look of his two eyes gives you to understand that he could never run out of his wits, which seem not so much to be lost, as to want employment; they are not so much astray, as they are a wool-gathering.

Now for his Criticisms and Performances: in this he shall not be injured, by having any Writer placed by him, for there is none to whom it would not be to his disadvantage to be compared; but he shall be Critick, Tragedian, and Comedian, according to his own rules and crudities laid down or alluded to in this Pamphlet.

I have

I have often asserted, and think this is an example to support my opinion, that it is generally for want of judgement that men set up for the character of being judicious; every body of any standing in town knows that the dullest and most stupid Writers we have had have set up for Criticks; and, after abusing the most celebrated and bright personages of the age, have made reproofs and answers needless, by some undeniable evidence of their inability in publications of their own. As for this Critick, he has distinguished himself by no spirit but that of contradiction: men the most amiable and unblameable in their persons and conduct, most perfect and correct in their writings and discourse, have been the peculiar objects of this Gentleman's reproof and dislike. To finish him at once as to this particular, the men of all the world upon whom he has fallen hardest are ADDISON and CONGREVE. After this is said, it would be ridiculous to talk of the animal, any further than to give good people a right notion of it. He has the face and surliness of a Mastiff, which has often saved him from being treated like a Cur; till some, more sagacious than ordinary, found his nature, and used him accordingly. Unhappy being! terrible without! fearful within! Not a wolf in sheep's cloathing, but a sheep in a wolf's. Oh lamentable and ridiculous! Oh tragi-comical condition! ever frightful, and always in a fright! His Pamphlet is so cruel, that it could not be

writ by any thing but a coward, indulging, sating, and wreaking his malice upon an object wholly in his power, which he could *stab* * without resistance.

Falsehoods, to unsettle families, disturb society, and disunite friends, among whom there is not one man but who has not particularly endeavoured to serve him, are but part of his offences. But there is not a man among them but will take all due measures to bring him to justice. They will not treat him as stupid only, but also wicked.

However, it appears that the meanest enemy in the world can give pain to those against whom they point their arrows; even this last of gentlemen has given Sir RICHARD vexation, even to tears. He says, supposing me him, "CIBBER is to place you among the Gods, as the Romans did their Emperors, by making you fly like an Eagle to them." He here alludes to a passage in the Dedication to Sir RICHARD STEELE †, wherein the Author, with a very unguarded warmth for him to whom he speaks, raises him in a comparison above a deceased Gentleman, whom all the world, but none so ardently, and in so plain terms, as Sir

* DENNIS was expelled his College for *stabbing* a man in the dark; see FARMER's "Essay on Shakespeare," p. 6; but it is doubtful whether STEELE knew this.

† Prefixed to CIBBER's "Heroic Daughter;" and annexed to the present Collection of the THEATRES.

RICHARD

RICHARD himself, preferred to Sir RICHARD STEELE. The paragraph is as follows :

“ Apply to such your singular conduct what
“ MARK ANTONY says of OCTAVIUS in the
“ Play ;

“ Fool that I was, upon my *Eagle's* Wings
“ I bore this *Wren*, till I was tir'd with soaring ;
“ And now he mounts above me !”

It is not proper to criticize upon an error flowing from too much good-will to a man's Friend. But this sentence was not applied according to character ; and it could not be imagined, that, to diminish a worthy man, as soon as he was no more to be seen, could add to him who had always raised, and almost worshiped, him when living. There never was a more strict friendship than between those Gentlemen ; nor had they ever any difference but what proceeded from their different way of pursuing the same thing. The one with patience, foresight, and temperate address, always waited and stemmed the torrent ; while the other often plunged himself into it, and was as often taken out by the temper of him who stood weeping on the brink for his safety, whom he could not dissuade from leaping into it. Thus these two men lived for some years last past, shunning each other, but still preserving the most passionate concern for their mutual welfare. But when they met, they were as unreserved as boys, and talked of the greatest af-

fairs, upon which they saw where they differed, without pressing (what they knew impossible) to convert each other.

There will be opportunities for this subject, that may perhaps be useful to those who know what is Friendship. But if one could speak of this as a Critick, Mr. CIBBER's kindness misled him to suppose the world would give preference to a living to the disadvantage of a deceased Author, since only after death true reputation is bestowed without envy. If Mr. CIBBER had said, STEELE had contrived that the modesty of Mr. ADDISON should no longer hide his prodigious talents (which STEELE only knew) from the rest of the world; if he had said, STEELE saw and rejoiced in the glorious effect it would have on the reputation of them both; that one day STEELE could, in spite of reluctance, when he pleased, unveil the beauty he had concealed, and with an honesty of ambition, contemning the longer use of borrowed excellence, obtain an excuse for the thing he was, by disdaining to appear, though to his advantage, the thing he was not; this would have helped his Hero much more than this extraordinary, I had like to have said extravagant simile; for then the World would have had quite a different idea of him. The World would have seen, that, instead of obscuring the merit of his deceased Friend, the World owed to his skill, importunity, and candour, the knowledge of his merit when living.

But

But Sir RICHARD may be at rest as to this particular. No one can be so mean as to believe he ever saw the Dedication before the whole Town was in possession of it. If I could imagine he did, I should place him even below the impotent, malicious Author, of whom I was just now treating. But, after all that has been said, I think Sir RICHARD extremely obliged to Mr. CIBBER; but would not have him own it at present, lest CIBBER too should be turned off the *Begging Bridge* (to which he is but just restored) as well as his Patron; for whose sake, as it is shamelessly declared, he was banished.

But Philosophers reap benefits out of affliction. To this last sorrow and matters above-mentioned it is owing, that Sir RICHARD is, for the future, no where *tongue-tyed*; and if his Family is the worse, his Country may be the better for his mortifications. Ill-placed respect, that gave him doubts and hesitations about men's designs, is thoroughly removed. There is not now in his sight that excellent man, whom Heaven made his friend and superior, to be, at a certain place, in pain for what he should say or do. I will go on in his further encouragement; the best Woman * that ever Man had

* The sincerity of this compliment to his Wife, given to her at a period when its truth was so certainly unequivocal, is amply confirmed by the whole tenor of his Epistolary Correspondence.

cannot now lament and pine at his neglect of himself. He may be confirmed still further: his children are too young to know the ill consequence of his daring in the public cause. Friendship, Love, and Pity, to those who have sensibility, will suggest why this Paper must end here.

P. S. The Gentlemen of the Horse and Foot Guards, who, it seems, are offended at the treatment of Sir RICHARD, their old Comrade, are desired to leave the face of WHATD'CALL just as it is.

* * * There is now in the Press, and will be published within a few days, "The Sequel of the Crisis of Property."

N^o 13. SATURDAY, *February 13, 1719-20.*

- True Loyalty is still the same;
- Whether it win or lose the game;
- True as a Dial to the Sun,
- Although it be not shin'd upon.' HUDIBRAS.

THE INJURED KNIGHT has his greatest complaint still to make, to wit, that he is represented as not having shewed zeal to his Majesty's service in this his Government, but been
I careless

careless in that particular. The fine Gentleman, in the Comedy called "The Committee," exhorts men of all professions to exert themselves in the service of the King; he is then talking to the Musick, and ends his sentence, "Let Fidlers play for the King." Our Knight has not omitted in the way of the Stage (over which he had the happiness, and has the right to preside) to do his duty to his Sovereign, any more than on better occasions. When the Actors were to perform at Hampton Court *, he writ a Prologue on the occasion, which he cannot pretend was rejected, because it was not vouchsafed to be read. I think this the best piece that Author has produced, as it frequently happens in matters which come from the heart. I shall insert this *little Poem*, for so Critick DENNIS somewhere calls any thing shorter than five thousand six hundred and fifteen lines, including half lines, for speaking half sense, and broken passion; but shall, before I come to the verses, according to the custom of us old fellows, tell a story, though it is nothing at all to the purpose.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, who had been Ambassador from CHARLES II. in Holland, and there had found means to recommend himself to the Prince of ORANGE, and to have had a great share of the conversation-hours of that excellent man, broke from his retirement at Sheen,

* See p. 107.

to make him a visit when he became King of England. He was brought up the back stairs; and, after the first compliments between two such accomplished personages, upon no less an incident than the change of their circumstances, from that of Foreign Prince and English Ambassador, to that of King of England and British Subject, they fell into their old familiarity; in the midst of which, Sir WILLIAM said to him: “ Sir, since I see you seem the same man which you were when you were Prince of Orange, give me leave to ask you how you come to abate of the greatest pleasure of your life, the good company you had about you at your leisure-hours, and take up with these heavy fellows I find you now entertain?” The King answered with a sigh: “ Sir William, I love good company as well as ever I did; but these heavy fellows, as heavy as they are, have more wit than to let them come near me; and you know I cannot go to them.”

I said, before I began this story, that it was nothing to the purpose; but the verses, in my opinion, shew the Author, whatever the Poetry is, to understand the world, and to have hit upon what is truly great as well as amiable in Princes, and that which is particular to his Majesty above all Sovereigns, the contempt of the pomp and show of grandeur. You will observe, that, according to poetical licence, he feigns the great Courtiers to be prodigious wise men, and to know the secret springs of action, and the rise and fall of States and Kingdoms;

doms ; but, as Mr. BAYES says, “ You will understand this better when you see it ; ” and so, after preamble, enter

PROLOGUE written by the GOVERNOR of the COMEDIANS * ; intended to be spoken when they acted at Hampton-Court, and began with a Comedy.

HOWE’ER we’re wont to feign, we now appear,
With true concern, and undefsembled fear,

* By the direction of King GEORGE the First, the great old hall at Hampton Court was converted into a Theatre, where Plays were intended to have been acted twice a week during the summer-season ; but, the Theatre not having been completed till the middle of September, there were but seven Plays acted before the Court returned to London. In this number was “ Henry the Eighth ; ” soon after which, CIBBER tells us, SIR RICHARD STEELE being asked by a grave nobleman how the King liked it ; he pleasantly replied, “ So terribly well, my Lord, that I was afraid I should have lost all my Actors ! for I was not sure, the King would not keep them to fill the posts at Court that he saw them so fit for in the Play.” Apology, pp. 447, 454 ; where it appears that the expences attending the performances at Hampton-Court, exclusive of “ the household music, the wax lights, and a chaise-mariné to carry the moving wardrobe to every different Play, amounted to 50*l.* a night ; ” which soon was paid to the Manager by the King’s order, with an additional compliment of 200*l.* Since that time there has been but one Play acted at Hampton-Court, which was in 1731, for the entertainment of the Duke of Lorrain, for which King George II. gave 200*l.*—When Plays were formerly acted at Whitehall, the stated fee to the performers was 20*l.* ; but the time of performance was so regulated, as not to prevent the Company’s acting the same day at a public Theatre.

Our

Our disadvantage too, too well we know,
 And here dare only Comic humour show;
 Our Tragic pomps are for the world below.
 They know not sentiment from empty rage,
 When the Theatric Monarch shakes the Stage;
 Strides o'er his realms with sceptre in his hand,
 By heel and feather, raising his high stand,
 Mantle and train half covering his command.
 But Audiences, who weigh the source of things,
 The rise of Nations, and the fate of Kings,
 Detest an unexperienced, wild essay,
 And close examine, by the life, a Play.
 By such Stage-Heroes with contempt are seen
 Who swell with rage, to form a princely mien.
 The counterfeit abhors a nearer view,
 The mimic greatness dreads t'approach the true.
 With easy, kind, familiar power That reigns,
 As life informs our frame, as blood our veins:
 Terror and noise spring from erroneous force:
 Thunder is an offence in Nature's course:
 That bursts around, an empty meteor forms,
 It mounts in vapours, and descends in storms.
 Nature's true force is in calm order seen;
 Small power is rough, consummate is serene.
 True Majesty's by smiling virtue known,
 Mix'd in a crowd, attended, or alone,
 With conscious goodness rais'd above its Throne.
 Homage it loaths, delights to make men free,
 And raise the bended suppliant from the knee;
 Rules not by stupid pomp, but human arts,
 And with the social virtues glads our hearts;
 Smiles at our follies, steals our souls away;
 And with our wills has arbitrary sway;
 Neglected Want and friendless Merit trace,
 In tender features of a gracious face;
 Not the fierce Lord, but friend of human race.

As

As grace and favour Heaven itself employs,
 But by its Angels ministring destroys ;
 In gentle acts of every passing hour
 The King diffuses through the land his power ;
 While conquering arms and dreaded fleets restrain
 Rash distant Powers, and vindicate the Main *.

The Criticks possibly may make exceptions against the Words, "Angels ministring," instead of "ministring Angels;" but any one in the least conversant in Poetry will know, that the preposition of the adjective is for the sake of the metre. The Author shewed me the incorrect copy, and he there had it "Angel-Ministers;" but I told him (for I am his Familiar) that here, below, the word "Minister," whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, would go no farther than to express a Saint. And this they are allowed to be, and ought to be called, till they prove Sinners. I know no other line in the copy of verses, against which I can foresee any great objection, except it be, that the whole spirit of it tends to a too nice explanation of what is true greatness, and in whom it inheres in highest eminence. The fountain for ever flows in the same just and equal measure with never-failing bounty, though the streams from it are sometimes noisy, turbulent, and destructive; instead of being, like the said spring, silent, soft, and salutiferous.

* Alluding to Admiral BYNG, afterwards Lord TOR-
 RINGTON.

The Poem could not be written but by one who loved the Person whom it celebrates; and perhaps this may appear by yet further instances. I have advised him to hope good things: "Your Master," said I, "is truly just and noble; and there can come no evil from him. He is so good, that you may appeal to him where his power is unlimited, from him where his power is limited. Where his will is his Law, there is safety; where Law circumscribes his Will, you see his Justice evaded and intercepted. Oh true Greatness, to be less dreadful, as it is more ample!

"Follow him," I ended, "if he goes abroad."

Well, there is life in a muscle, as the Proverb says; but, in the mean time, it is very hard to live the only man in a free nation that has not the benefit of the Laws.

I shall end this with a Petition which I have dictated to my Friend; it is not grave enough for earnest, or light enough for jest. It is addressed to persons of supererogatory virtue; and who, as Lord BRUMPTON says in "The Funeral," should be generous where others are only required to be just.

"To an Assembly of PATENTEES.

"This humble Petition sheweth,

"That your Petitioner is, in the nature of his tenure, though far below you in the quality of it, your Peer.

"That

“ That your Petitioner is a Patentee for keep-
 ing a School for teaching Boys and Girls les-
 sons of morality, which they are bound to re-
 peat to others for an honest livelihood.

“ That a Patentee of your Assembly has made
 all the children truant ; and being younger
 and handsomer than your poor Petitioner, and
 wearing fine cloaths and ribbands, has won
 the hearts of the Girls, who had rather learn
 nothing and be under him, than stay with
 your aged petitioner.

“ That the Boys are fond of the said Girls,
 and won't learn without them.

“ That your Petitioner humbly conceives he
 is by Patent as well empowered to teach
 School, as better men are, by Patent, enabled
 to do greater things.

“ All which is humbly submitted,
 “ And your Petitioner shall ever pray.”

* * Just published, the second edition of “ The Crisis
 of Property, &c.”

N.B. There is now in the Press, and will be published
 within a few Days, “ The Sequel of the Crisis of Pro-
 perty.”

N° 14. TUESDAY, *February 16, 1719-20.*

‘ To make his Public Spirit better known,
 ‘ He to the Public Debts postpones his own.’
 Confess and avoid——

CULPRIT CIVIL.

THE INJURED KNIGHT took a visit from me last night very kindly ; and I was, in the beginning of it, not a little pleased with him. From the moment I sat down, he began to talk to me upon an old maxim of his, “ That “ his Friends are all above him, his Enemies “ below him ;” but I found, for all his bouncing and boasted Philosophy, he felt the Gout, and feared the distresses of Life ; which when I hinted to him that I observed, he told me, “ if “ I had not been his Friend, he would have “ dissembled better ; for some men,” said he, “ out of greatness of mind, and others out of “ meanness, contemn, instead of pitying, those “ who pity themselves ; for which reason,” continued he, “ it is prudent, if a man can “ possibly hit it, to make adversaries rather ridiculous than odious, and call assistance rather “ from your mirth than your indignation ; for “ every body will be merry because you are
 “ merry,

“ merry, but nobody angry because you are
 “ angry ; and there is no dependence upon man-
 “ kind, but by means in which they gratify
 “ themselves. It is necessary not to lament too
 “ much, especially to hide the deformity of
 “ little wants. You see Writers of Romances
 “ take care of a cask of jewels somewhere about
 “ their Hero, or wound him near some cottager
 “ of unknown quality, in order to his being re-
 “ lieved with a good grace in despicable cir-
 “ cumstances ; if he has a rent in his coat, it
 “ must be by being run through the body,
 “ otherwise the valiant man, in the eyes of his
 “ Mistress, would appear shabby instead of un-
 “ fortunate. CERVANTES, the Author of *Don*
 “ *Quixote*, figures this prepossession against want
 “ with exquisite pleasantry, when he makes
 “ the Knight of the sorrowful, not *dusky* coun-
 “ tenance, keep his chamber, to the neglect of
 “ Damfels distressed and injured Princes, by rea-
 “ son of a hole in his stocking which he was
 “ ashamed to communicate.

“ But we have seen the effect of this preju-
 “ dice upon our own Stage, and very great
 “ Authors suffer by not guarding against it.
 “ Both Mr. DRYDEN’s ‘ Cleomenes,’ and Mr.
 “ ROWE’s ‘ Jane Shore,’ when they complained
 “ of famine, received offers of relief, by bread
 “ thrown on the Stage from the Upper Gallery.
 “ We may observe that, in this particular, cus-
 “ tom is not only a second nature, but has got
 I “ the

“ the better of Nature itself; and men, instead
“ of giving respect and distinction according to
“ the qualities of body and mind (which one
“ would think should be their true interest to
“ do), they seem in general to consent, or dare
“ not deny their consent, that all veneration and
“ esteem are due only to the gifts of Fortune.
“ This prejudice is stronger here in England
“ than in any other place, which I am apt to
“ attribute to their being more carnivorous than
“ any other people; for even in our own terri-
“ tories, where the more modest aliment of
“ Leeks, Oatmeal, and Potatoes, are the food
“ of the people, they seem more civilized, and
“ less haughty, than in the wealthier parts of
“ these realms, which we should suppose to be
“ better taught, as well as better fed. The
“ sober-fed parts allow gentry and the civilities
“ of life to be paid to them on much easier
“ terms than the Beef-eaters will afford them.
“ In rich countries, antient riches, and the con-
“ tinuance of it in a family, are what denote
“ being a Gentleman. In other places, poverty,
“ or something very near it, provided you for-
“ bear labour, or art, to make yourself wealthy,
“ still retains the blood; and you are not at-
“ tainted till you become good for something.
“ By which you see, that the impressiion, that
“ Fortune is the solid distinction, is received
“ both by rich and poor. And *Wales, Scot-*
“ *land, and Ireland,* preserve respect to persons,
“ and

“ and personal qualities, not from a true mag-
 “ nanimity, but from want of trade, or other
 “ opportunities of changing distinctions into
 “ those of wealth and plenty. For these reasons,
 “ it is necessary for every man, who would be
 “ of any use to himself or others, to take care
 “ of his fortune; for all his merit ends with
 “ it. And I have seen the day, wherein a
 “ man’s pretensions have been barred from be-
 “ ing so much as heard upon grievances he has
 “ complained of, in behalf of himself and
 “ others, without any other allegation than
 “ that he was a poor fellow; which is the
 “ greater wonder, since those who opposed him
 “ have no other merit but that they are rich,
 “ except the forgetfulness that they have been
 “ poor. But this last vice, or rather infirmity,
 “ is what has seized all but the most heroic
 “ spirits, whose hearts yearn at the wants and
 “ sufferings of their fellow-creatures. Those
 “ few only have escaped the infection, whose
 “ minds are too strong for their bodies, and will
 “ not let them taste, in a luxurious manner,
 “ the supplies of appetite, to fullness, wanton-
 “ ness, or pride; while they know there are
 “ others, who languish for them under hunger,
 “ thirst, and cold.

“ Were it possible to bring an insolent world
 “ to the least reflection, it might appear a prac-
 “ ticable thing to shew, that a rich man is only
 “ a poor man supplied; and that all the pomps
 “ and vanities of haughty and superior life are

“ but thin disguises and laborious impostures,
“ to hide the weakness and poverty of human
“ life itself. Consider the greatest Prince in
“ the world, he owes his safety to his guards,
“ and his support to his subjects; and is kept
“ up to breathe in air by outward necessaries,
“ which he wants in common with th humblest
“ slave. But that Being is the nearest happy
“ which wants least, and not that which is sup-
“ plied with most. Tax, Aid, and Subsidy,
“ differ from Gift, Compassion, and Charity,
“ only in meer sound and appearance; and as
“ these relieve the Beggar, and those the Prince,
“ who (equally unsupplied) stand in the same
“ class of natural necessity. We will not here
“ mention superior Beings, such as Angels, to
“ expose our impotent condition to those who
“ forget it. But I was reading the other day
“ of an animal, in a News-paper, in the Article
“ from *Boston*, whose little being is supplied
“ and sustained by the air only; and could not
“ but think his state preferable to that of Im-
“ perial dignity, and wish every man of merit
“ in his condition, against this bad world. While
“ a man is philosophizing in this manner, little
“ private vexations are much abated; but that
“ is no reason why he should not, by all proper
“ methods, oppose wrongs and injuries, which
“ disable him in the prosecution of all manner
“ of duties to his prince, his neighbour, or his
“ fellow-subject.”

“ While

“ While we were in this way of chat, there
 “ came in a boy with a new Paper called THE
 “ ANTI-THEATRE *.” I immediately read it
 very distinctly to my Sir Knight; who, after
 some pause, said, “ Sir JOHN, this Sir JOHN
 “ FALSTAFFE will do us no hurt, though at the
 “ same time I see capacity in him, which, ill-
 “ used, might be mischievous to a much greater
 “ name than yours or mine. But there is good
 “ blood in this Author, without deriving it
 “ from Sir JOHN FALSTAFFE; for though he
 “ begins with some severity in his Motto and
 “ the first part of his Paper, you see his work-
 “ ing hand is checked by a good heart: for
 “ he settles very fair preliminaries with you,
 “ which you ought to accept, and fight within
 “ that circle, if you pretend to throw him.
 “ And let me tell you, Sir JOHN, I am a good
 “ deal afraid for you: for the spectators are
 “ very partial to a fair Tilter; and, you may de-
 “ pend upon it, as much as he personates Sir
 “ JOHN FALSTAFFE, he has none of his Cow-
 “ ardice, who could say, ‘ No temptation shall
 “ make me break in upon the rules of civility
 “ and good-manners, or intrude upon the pri-
 “ vate concerns of life; Sir JOHN has been
 “ too barbarously treated this way already.’

* The first Number of the ANTI-THEATRE appeared
 on Monday Feb. 15, 1719-20; and the publication was
 continued to Fifteen or Sixteen Numbers; of which as
 many as can be recovered shall appear in the present
 volume.

“ Look to yourself, my noble Defendant ; for
“ you will not have over this Gentleman the
“ advantage of being injured and abused.
“ Therefore I wish you good luck, and, what
“ you have not had yet, *a clear stage, and no*
“ *favour.*”

My Knight ended here ; but I did not like the new troubles which I foresee will come upon me from this skilful Adversary ; and therefore turned off the discourse by asking “ what those Papers were upon the table ;” which, he told me, with a very grave face, were a calculation he had made of the difference between a Scheme of his for paying the Debts of the Nation, which he is printing in all haste, and says will be for the advantage of the whole kingdom, and is built upon what he calls his first Rule of Politicks, to wit, “ A Nation, “ a Family.” I told him, “ People would expect great things of him indeed upon that “ foundation, he had such a reputation for “ œconomy.” He pertly answered, “ I would “ provide for my Family as it belongs to the “ Nation, and not for the Nation as if it belonged to my Family. Let others serve the “ Nation, by taking care only of themselves ; “ I will serve it with contempt of any thing “ for myself, but what I will enjoy in common “ with others.”

I suppose we shall see this, and a great deal more, too old-fashioned even for me, in print within few hours. I left him very much out
of

of humour with him; and in ridicule of his paying the public debts, before he had recovered his estate to pay his own, I placed the extemporary diffich on the head of this present Writing*.

* See above, p. 112.

N^o 15. SATURDAY, February 20, 1719-20.

Conveniens vitæ mors fuit illa tuæ. OVID.

‘Thy death well suits the tenor of thy life.’

I HAVE passed my last hours with a great deal of amusement, and have gone through all the vicissitudes of agreeable and pensive reflection to which my imagination could turn itself. I am indeed just now come from the Masquerade; but last night saw “The Siege of Damascus;” and had the mortification to hear this evening, that Mr. HUGHES, the Author of that excellent Tragedy, departed this life within few hours after his Play was acted with universal applause. This melancholy circumstance recalled into my thought a speech in the Tragedy which very much affected the whole Audience, and was attended to with the

greatest and most solemn instance of approbation, an awful silence. The incidents of the Play plunge an heroic character into the last extremity; and he is admonished by a Tyrant-commander to expect no mercy, but is left alone to consider with himself, whether he will comply with the terms he offers him, to wit, changing the Christian Religion for the Mahometan Idolatry, or die.

The words with which the Turkish General makes his *exit* from his Prisoner are,

“ Farewell, and think of Death.”

Upon which, the Captive breaks into the following soliloquy :

“ Farewell, and think of Death !—Was it not so !
 “ Do Murderers then preach Morality ?—
 “ But how to think of what the Living know not ;
 “ And the Dead cannot, or else may not tell.
 “ What art thou, O thou great mysterious Terror ?
 “ The way to thee we know ; diseases, famine,
 “ Sword, fire, and all thy ever-open gates,
 “ That day and night stand ready to receive us.
 “ But what’s beyond them ? Who will draw that veil ?
 “ Yet Death’s not there—No ; ’tis a point of time,
 “ The verge ’twixt Mortal and Immortal Being.
 “ It mocks our thought—On this side all is life ;
 “ And when we’ve reach’d Death, in that very instant
 “ ’Tis past the thinking of—or if it be
 “ The pangs, the throes, the agonizing struggle,
 “ When soul and body part, sure I have felt it ;
 “ And there’s no more to fear !”

All

All men who have a taste of good arts will lament the loss of this Gentleman, for his admirable performance; and his acquaintance will not take it ill, that something is here said of him by one who knew him very intimately, and had a great respect for his merit and virtue.

I cannot, in the first place, but felicitate a death *, on the same evening in which he had received and merited the applause of his country, for a great and good action. His Work is full of such sentiments, as only can give comfort on the last hour; and, I am told, he shewed a pleasure in hearing the labour, which he so honestly and virtuously intended, had met with a suitable success. And happy was the man, who, while he felt himself in the lowest degree of human condition, could at the same time give himself the satisfaction that he was inspiring great and good thoughts in a whole People. He lay, like his own Hero, with the arrow in his side, but would not pull it and let out life, till he had performed his course of Virtue. His whole life, indeed, was the state of his dying Hero; he had, in a great measure,

* Mr. Hughes died Feb. 17, 1719-20, the evening in which his Tragedy was first represented. "The Siege of Damascus, which I suppose you have seen, is a Play, though very full of faults, said to be esteemed for its many beauties, and the honour and propriety of its sentiments; and shews that we have lost an excellent Genius in Mr. Hughes, though he was not come to his maturity of fine writing."

Dr. Kundle to Mrs. Sandys, March 24, 1719-20.
the

the dart of mortality ever festering in the body from birth, the entrance into pain, to Death, the *exit* from it. Mr. HUGHES could hardly ever be said to have enjoyed health; but was, in the very best of his days, a valetudinarian. If those, who are sparing of giving praise to any virtue without extenuation of it, should say, that his youth was chastised into the severity, and preserved in the innocence for which he was conspicuous, from the infirmity of his constitution, they will be under new difficulty when they hear that he had none of those faults to which ill state of health ordinarily subjects the rest of mankind. His incapacity for more frolic diversions never made him peevish or sour to those whom he saw in them; but his humanity was such, that he could partake and share those pleasures he beheld others enjoy, without repining that he himself could not join in them. No; he made a true use of an ill constitution, and formed his mind to the living under it, with as much satisfaction as it could admit of. His intervals of ease were employed in Drawing, Designing, or else in Musick or Poetry; for he had not only a taste, but an ability of performance to a great excellence, in those arts which entertain the mind within the rules of the severest Morality, and the strictest dictates of Religion. He did not seem to wish for more than he possessed even as to his health, but to contemn sensuality as a sober man does drunkenness; he was so far from envying, that

he pitied the jollities that were enjoyed by a more happy constitution. He could converse with the most sprightly without peevishness; and sickness itself had no other effect upon him, than to make him look upon all violent pleasures as evils he had escaped without the trouble of avoiding.

Doctor SPRAT finishes his account of the Life and Writings of Mr. COWLEY in this remarkable paragraph:

“Perhaps,” says he, “it may be judged that
“I have spent too many words on a private
“man, and a Scholar; whose life was not re-
“markable for such a variety of events as are
“wont to be the ornaments of this kind of
“relations. I know it is the custom of the
“world to prefer the pompous histories of great
“men before the greatest virtues of others,
“whose lives have been led in a course less
“illustrious. This, indeed, is the general hu-
“mour. But I believe it to be an error in
“men’s judgements; for, certainly, that is a
“more profitable instruction which may be
“taken from the eminent goodness of men of
“lower rank, than that which we learn from
“the splendid representations of the battles,
“and victories, and buildings, and sayings, of
“great Commanders and Princes. Such spe-
“cious matters, as they are seldom delivered
“with fidelity, so they serve but for the imi-
“tation of a very few, and rather make for
“the ostentation than the true information of
“human

“ human life : whereas it is from the practice
 “ of men equal to ourselves, that we are more
 “ naturally taught how to command our pas-
 “ sions, to direct our knowledge, and to govern
 “ our actions.”

I am very glad of so great an authority for the support of an opinion, which I have always had since I could think at all, and received from the great Writers of Antiquity, that we are to undress men, and throw off the mantle and train with which Fortune has cloathed them, before we can propose them as patterns to ourselves, or truly know their private character. But, without that labour and enquiry, those who approach our condition are immediate objects of our approbation or dislike ; and teach us in a more lively manner what to avoid or pursue. It is therefore, methinks, an injury to the great merit of private men, that Writers who seldom rise above that degree (at least in their fortune) should prostitute their talents in adorning those only among the virtuous who are possessors of wealth and power.

The Gentleman to whose memory I devote this Paper may be the emulation of more persons of different talents than any one I have ever known. His head, hand, or heart, was always employed in something worthy imitation ; his pencil, his bow-string, or his pen, each of which he used in a masterly manner, were always directed to raise and entertain his own mind, or that of others, to a more chearful prosecution
 of

of what was noble and virtuous. Peace be with thy remains, thou amiable Spirit ! But I talk in the language of our weakness. That is flown to the regions of Day and Immortality, and relieved from the aching engine and painful instrument of anguish and sorrow, in which, for a long and tedious few years, he panted with a lively hope for his present condition. We shall consign the trunk, in which he was so long imprisoned, to common earth, with all that is due to the merit of its late inhabitant.

It will become us, who knew this excellent young man, to alleviate the sorrow of a Widow mourning for her most dutiful Son, in making his last obliging labour, now passing on the stage, as beneficial as we can to his Family, and take this one and last opportunity of returning the good-will and kindness of a constant and officious Friend to all well-deservers, as far as his circumstances of life would permit.

With this humane duty, and willing exercise of affliction, do I blot out the various images of antic dresses, gilded scenes, and giddy crowds, from which I am just returned, and which were hardly sufficient to divert an oppressed spirit from its private cares ; but they ought to vanish at the reflection, upon a series of greater weight of sorrow, that constantly loaded the example of chearful Patience, whom I have here endeavoured to celebrate.

N° 16. TUESDAY, *February 23, 1719-20.*

— *Contemnere honores*

Fortis—

HOR. 2 Sat. vii. 83.

‘ Who can Ambition’s vainest gifts despise,
 ‘ Firm in himself who on himself relies.’ NEVILLE.

I WAS this morning ruminating * upon the distinctions of human life, and thought it of great consequence to rectify and settle my ideas on that subject. The most eligible character in the world is that of a Man of Honour; but the vulgar, both great and small, are charmed with the appearance, instead of the thing itself. It is therefore necessary to make this matter rightly understood. Honour is conscious integrity; and can be given to no man, or taken from him, but by himself. Thus he, that is truly a Man of Honour, wants no man’s opinion to make him such; for he may be so, though all the world think the contrary of him, and he be universally reviled instead of being respected. This condition is a very deplorable one, but infinitely preferable to the highest approbation or applause purchased by the loss of integrity.

* See Anti-theatre, N° IV.

Such

Such is the Man of Honour in himself; but the person ordinarily so called, is he who is esteemed to be such by other men. Him therefore we will call truly honourable who knows himself to be, and others believe to be, a Man of Honour; no distinctions, titles, or appellations, can give this illustrious character, which can flow only from a man's own life and actions. There is as much difference between Title and Honour, as between Heraldry and Morality, as between a man's person and his cloaths.

The ensigns given to orders of men are but types of what ought to be within; and, according to what there is there, are to the advantage or disadvantage of the bearers. Titles express only what a man should be, and not what he is; and, if one might suppose such a thing as a worthless Nobleman, his honour would be but a public demonstration that his Prince was mistaken in him, and deceived in his grant. For the Learned say, that *Noble* is but an abbreviation of the word *Notable*, and *Nobilis* is *quasi Notabilis*. Thus title is no other than a mechanic fame, and an instrument of bringing obscure merit into observation; and is honourable, or otherwise, to the owner, according as that merit is acknowledged by the rest of the world. For this reason, the act of ennobling is excellently well called *Creation*, because it is making out of nothing when it falls on indelert, and a sort of regeneration when it is conferred on
merit.

merit. To be distinguished from the rest of the world, when they can see nothing in a man but what ought to lie hid, is such an addition as armour would be to a Coward. If this be a just way of thinking, the road to Honour is always but begun; and he who, by title or other dignity, is more particularly pointed out to be such, as often as he is called by his title, is only called upon to manifest his character. If his ordinary behaviour is unworthy of it, he is no more to be honoured than a prophane person ought to be held sacred for being in holy orders.

The common simile between money coined and a man ennobled is very just; and it is the matter of the metal, and not the impress upon it, which gives it its true value. And it is no manner of disparagement to the Sovereign, that you weigh his money before you allow it to be current. Let all men therefore, especially we who have the honour of Knighthood, keep our stand above the inferior world, by a superiority in our thoughts, words, and actions; as well knowing that our title does not make, but admonish us to be, Men of Honour. Persons who are truly such make it visible, in a peculiar manner of treating men below them. Gentleness, affability, kind looks, and sincere language, are the arts by which they soften inferiority, and gain from the lower world the acknowledgement of their deserved elevation.

Men's

Men's actions are only indisputably sincere, as they concern their inferiors; and Husbands, Fathers, and Masters, are the characters by which we most certainly know the real men. When Power and Fortune meet in the person of a Man of Honour, how glorious, how happy, how amiable is that person! He is the defence of Merit, the refuge of Affliction, and ornament of Prosperity.

Let us consider this affair a little more familiarly; and it will be evident, that to make notable or observable is the only thing that the Prince does in relation to his giving Nobility, merely as such, and as it is separated from other rights which are usually given to Noblemen. When a man is made a Knight, that is, a *Knight Bachelor*, he is, by the way, called *Bachelor*, because it is his own fault if he be so any longer, after the power is vested in him of making a Lady. But this order was first intended, all Antiquaries agree, for persons who were eminent for their love of the fair sex, and possessing those accomplishments which protect them from injuries, and win them as the highest reward of worthy actions. A *Knight Bachelor* ought to be valiant, honest, faithful, discreet, and well-drest. But I was going to mention the way of inaugurating this well-qualified person. The Gentleman who is to receive honour kneels down, to shew that humility is the highest desert, and the first step to true glory. The Sovereign stands among

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his

his Nobles, Officers, and Courtiers; and then, fixing his eye upon the brave man in that lowly posture, an Officer of the Bed-chamber, or Captain of the Guard in waiting—some Authors will affirm that it must be the Sword of a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, but to be delivered to the King by the Captain of the Guards—with this sword his Majesty strikes the man whom he honours on the left shoulder, and bids him rise up, calling him by his name, with the preposition of SIR. From that hour he is known to be known to the King as a man deserving his notice and favour, of which all the rest of the world are to take due observation; but especially the person who presented him on the occasion; and it is esteemed a loss of honour, and breach of faith, in any man who should present a man to be a Knight, and afterwards use him scurvily; for that would be a tacit implication that he imposed upon his Prince, when he presented this unworthy *Wight*, for that is the term due to all false merit, when it is discovered.

The next order of Knighthood is that called *Baronet*, who were originally made upon account of money lent, and are *Sirs* by patent and descent, upon valuable consideration, and are acquitted formally of the sum of fifteen hundred pounds in the Receipt of the Exchequer. But the Knights upon the foot or Chivalry are the Knights Bachelors, and those of the most Honourable Order of the Garter.

These

These are the lowest and highest of Nobles. You have heard how easily the lowest is dispatched; but the Knights of the Garter take a great deal more time in the making them *notable*. A man may read the whole ceremonial with great delight and satisfaction of mind in ASHMOLE. You will there find; that the future Knight is brought into a Church, before a very large congregation, in his slippers, night-cap, doublet, and breeches; and in that posture, standing between two Heralds, who have as much too many cloaths on as he has too little, he bows five bows to every part of the compass, and repeats that great civility upon every piece of his dress that is put on before the company, in order to make him indisputably *notable* for ever after. It is to be noted; that the Installation of a Knight of the Garter is quite the contrary to that of making a Nun. The Lady is stripped of all her finery in public, because she is leaving the world. The Knight is put into his bravery in public, because he is to come into it with new glory.

What I pretend to aver and signify in all this is, that there is no true honour but in a man's self; and that it signifies nothing what a man is called, but merely as it represents what a man is. When a Plebeian acts an improper thing merely because he can do it with impunity, he is *impudent*; when a Nobleman transgresses due bounds, he is *insolent*. The impudent go on with a consciousness that they

are wrong; the insolent act with forgetfulness or negligence of what is right or wrong. But neither of them can be ranked amongst honest or honourable men, however rich or noble they may be; for the Man of Honour is so in himself, without regard to the favours or injuries of Fortune.

* * * To-morrow will be published, "A Nation a Family;" being the Sequel of "The Crisis of Property."

N° 17. SATURDAY, *February 27, 1719-20.*

Εύφημα.

I HAVE been reading over Sir RICHARD STEELE's "Crisis of Property *," and his other Pamphlet called "A Nation a Family *;" being the sequel of the same argument, with a calculation of the advantage which his design will give the South-Sea Company above what they themselves ask, and at the same time insure the credit of the public securities. According to his scheme, all who have purchased estates for terms of years will have liberty and opportunity to improve their fortune, which

* Both these Tracts will be found in the present volume.

they

they hold of their country, by altering their tenures under it to their great advantage. According to him, a man who has an annuity for thirty years to come may give or sell three persons a better income for life than he himself now has, and by survivorship ten times as much. There is nothing in this fantastical or imaginary, but plain and demonstrative, as will appear to the most ordinary capacity in the perusal of his Discourses. The greatest prejudice against the design, of which I am apprehensive, is, that there is no cunning in it; for I have lived to see men of ordinary talents (and that not out of modesty) despise a thing because they immediately understood it. I own I have often affected obscurity in my Writings, to give this level of capacity some smart triumph over me, in exercising their little pretty parts, and unravelling a thing which was almost a difficulty. But men who condemn cunning, and do not want the help of gravity, will talk plainly, as I shall, in analogy to the Knight's Discourses; for I cannot but approve so honourable a design as that of making this miserable divided Nation one happy and peaceable Family. Thus then let me reason on the present great affair.

“Credit is a belief that money is as safe and
 “more commodious in the possession of another,
 “than in a man's own hands.”

This belief cannot last longer than the creditor thinks his debtor *willing* and *able* to pay him, and not *too powerful* to be forced if *he is*

not willing. This latter consideration should make all the Members in the Legislature very cautious, lest the Parliament, by meddling with what they have, from the nature of the thing, covenanted not to meddle with, that is to say, what they have absolutely sold, should less easily be trusted for the future.

By several steps and gradations mankind came into the use of money; and gold and silver, for their intrinsic worth and value, became the token of wealth, and purchase of every other commodity.

The excellence of gold above all other parts of matter is principally that it carries weight in a narrow compass, is dissolved but by one particular instrument, and, after the separation of its parts, is to be brought again together in its true and real value, and grows better from the torture and examination. Silver has the same qualities in a less kind, and is different from all other parts of matter, except gold, in that it cannot be dissolved, so as to be for ever inseparable, but comes together again by a proper instrument of attraction, and the like.

Jewels have brightness, weight, and variations of colour, different from every thing else, which give them a value above any thing below their quality; and consequently have an intrinsic price, though variable, according to the owner's want or plenty.

CREDIT cannot subsist without a store, or an imagined store, of such goods as these; and
when

when Creditors have just or prudential grounds to suspect the Debtor to be unable to produce such value, the confidence in him is at an end, and they will demand their own in what has a value in itself, independent of place or person.

According to the SOUTH SEA Proposal, that Company visibly increases Paper credit beyond its present bounds. According to Sir RICHARD, the Paper credit is diminished by the whole sum the SOUTH SEA offers to give, and their basis widened to an immense degree without their expence, and with safety to the general good, and Parliamentary engagement.

Should Foreigners on a sudden draw off their shares in our Funds, and another moneyed body among ourselves be provoked to call upon them also, we should be soon driven to an examination of our Credit; and, when that comes, the public debts must be paid in cash; and we need not say how able we shall be to answer the demand.

The SOUTH SEA Proposal offers the lowering of interest to three *per cent.* at a distant time; but I presume to say, nothing can lower the interest of money, any more than the price of corn, but the great store thereof; and the seeming plenty we are under by the command of cash is only among a part of the world who deal in money and keep it by them, by a skilful use of their own coinage in paper. But that coinage will not pass longer than the Nation is at ease and plenty; and we are always

to be ready for ill accidents. Besides, the lowering of interest, in truth and justice, is only making the Creditor abate, not enabling the Debtor to pay.

But we will speak of this more explicitly. The greatest support and strength of a Government consists in its command of wealth, or, which serves the same end, its having so much Credit with those who live under its protection, as to be entrusted, upon any occasion, with all in their possession. Upon this concession it evidently follows, that any the least suspicion of National Credit is the greatest wound a Government can receive; and that there will be probable ground, at least, for such a suspicion, upon the Parliament's acceptance of the SOUTH SEA present Proposal, plainly appears by the argument in behalf of Annuitants in "The Crisis of Property." The reasoning of that piece concerns the honour of the Legislature, and consequently the welfare and safety of the Government, as well as the security of property in the subject. But, for the present, let this argument be waved (though I hope in England it will never be disregarded); and let the merits of the Scheme itself be considered in a view abstracted from its tendency to injustice towards private persons. It will appear from this Discourse, that the SOUTH SEA Proposal is not only a dishonour to the Legislature, an insecurity and injury to its Creditors, but a disadvantage likewise (in distress on Trade) to the Nation

Nation in general. This may be effectually explained in a few words, by shewing that what they propose as the chief advantage of their Scheme is really in itself a public detriment. It is proposed by the SOUTH SEA, as the chief advantage of their bargain to the Publick, that by the year 1724 public interest will decline to three *per cent*. Now if this abatement of interest is proved to be no benefit, but a prejudice to the Nation, it must be allowed they are disarmed of the chief support of their scheme. And many reasons may prove the lowering of interest to be of public disadvantage. One chief reason is, that when the value of money is cheap, the traders in it will engross it into their own hands, and prevent its circulation; and, by that means, causing public scarcity of it, stop the course of trade, on the prosperity of which, no one will deny, our wealth and plenty depend. The motion of trade ever terminates with that of money, so that it must be a very great prejudice to the Nation to have its trade cramped and contracted by want of it: and that a scarcity of money is naturally attended with this evil, is very plain and evident, from this short reflection upon it. In a view of trade it is necessary to consider two sorts of persons; the person, for example the Clothier, that works our manufacture, and the Merchant that consumes it. If the former wants money, he cannot employ hands to work off the manufacture, but his trade is lost; if
the

the latter wants it, the commodity of the country is abated in its value, for he cannot afford an advantageous price for it. In either of which cases, public trade decays, the Nation declines in wealth and strength, and sinks into poverty and weakness. Now the SOUTH SEA Proposal of lowering the interest of money will be evidently attended with the scarcity of it, which will be the destruction of trade, and ruin of the Nation, for the enriching of a few; for, as I said, when the value of money is cheap, Bankers will, by the assistance of paper credit, draw it into their own hands, and by draining the country of it render it scarce. Their power for this purpose is clear, from an instance Mr. LOCKE, according to whose sentiments I now speak, mentions, of "one Banker's having credit, by notes under a servant's hand, for eleven hundred thousand pounds at once." Now, when interest is low, money will by the same means, and for the same reasons, be contracted within a narrow compass; and those who shall thus monopolize it will soon be able to raise its value upon account of its scarcity: for its necessity to the very existence of trade is an argument that every body must have it at any rate he can.

Thus, the lowering of interest, besides the loss it may be to those who have all their substance in money, besides the encroachment on the fair advantage of men engaged in Parliamentary bargains, besides the provocation it

will be to Foreigners to call away their money (a subject now only touched upon, but may be hereafter further considered), will be of public mischief, by distressing trade, and ruining the Nation. This last consideration may convince us, that we cannot be too careful that nothing may stop the free course of money, which alone can turn the wheel of trade, and conduce to the plenty and prosperity of the English Nation.

* * * This Day is published, "A Nation a Family;" being the Sequel of "The Crisis of Property; or a Plan for the Improvement of the South-Sea Proposal." By Sir RICHARD STEELE, Knt. Member of Parliament. To be had at the same Places with this Paper, Price 6d.

N^o 18. TUESDAY, *March 1, 1719-20.*

—*Longis rationibus affem
Discunt in partes centum diducere.*—

HOR. Ars Poet. 325,

‘ Our Youth, proficients in a nobler art,
‘ Divide a farthing to the hundredth part.’

FRANCIS,

A MAN must take all the means he can to exert himself, and bear up against oppression, under which a friend of mine lives with as much philosophy as any man could in his

his condition. When one method of raising an income is taken away, a man ought to be encouraged in aiming at another. As pleasures are of late years improved to a most exquisite softness, and the delight of sound has prevailed over the pain of sense; the Poetical Men may serve Public Assemblies without any expence of their quick stock of understanding. I shall give them a small instance of what is very happily calculated for the service of the present refiners of our taste in Music and Poetry. The following Song is written by a person who has offended very much by mixing a little understanding in his compositions; but has expressed his penitence and reformation by a contrary practice; as will appear by the following Song, which is admirably well set to musick by a famous Italian Master. It shall be laid before the Council of Ten, who determine certain deliberations according to rules and methods imported by Sir POLITICK WOU'DBE, from the State of Venice, for the better regulation of trifles in this Kingdom: for all great men know, that, if you can command absolutely the toys of little people, you will by a parity of reason come into the possession and direction of the goods and chattels of the rest of the world. But this is the Song:

I.

So notwithstanding heretofore
 Strait forward by and by
 Now everlastingly therefore
 Too low and eke too high.

II. Then

II.

Then for almost and also why
 Not thus when less so near
 Oh ! for hereafter quite so nigh
 But greatly ever here.

It is not to be doubted but this piece will meet with applause ; for it gives no manner of disturbance to the head, but meerly serves to be added to sounds proper for the syllables. When a thing is well written, every man fancies he could have done the same ; and this character, which the great Critick gives to fine writing, will certainly be allowed to be due to this Sonnet. The particular words were indeed translated for the Master, and he gave them dying notes accordingly ; for upon the supposition that Lovers are to be constant and unhappy, as they are equally so in all nations, the force, the *pathos*, is most admirably laid upon the word *everlastingly*, with a due *impatience* in the notes on *by and by*.

The Learned Body which is appointed to judge of these things do take all imaginable care and precaution in the alteration of our language, which they have found absolutely necessary : “ for,” said a famous Virtuoso at the Board, “ there may perhaps be no great matter
 “ in the translation of nonsense from one lan-
 “ guage to another ; yet the sound may be
 “ also lost, and we may suffer under no sound,
 “ as well as no sense.” As little interest as I
 may

may be thought to have in the world, I do not doubt but to obtain so much favour as to have this Song referred by the Company to the *Committee for Particles*. They do not know that there is a spy upon all they do from the sensible part of the world; the man I mean, who is arrived at the post of a Director, for no other end but to divert himself with the force of instinct, and the animal cunning of some creatures, in undermining, disappointing, and suppressing the faculties of man.

The abovementioned *Committee for Particles* sit *de die in diem*, which is as much as to say, every day; but it is thought that many of those Particles which are now in use will be abolished, especially the particles that introduce and carry on a sense, as *For*; and the particles, which gainsay, or except against what went afore, as *But*. And, indeed, I must agree with the gentleman who concluded, that when you do not stand upon sense, it is ridiculous to keep syllables that either advance or interrupt it. However, I am of opinion the Committee (I speak only from what is said without doors) will retain both *For* and *But*, not as particles in their speech, but expletives in their Poetry.

A Gentleman, who was once a younger brother, and has suffered for want of memory of many precepts in LILLIE'S Grammar, proposed, that *Enimvero* might be used, either in English or Italian, to signify *But*; this he desired by petition, in favour of that vovelly long-word;
but

but it was referred to the *Committee of Adverbs* to examine into the merits of that small meaning quadrifyllable, and give their opinion thereupon.

The Author of this performance was encouraged to present to the Board a Song with something like sense in it; but that was thought dangerous, and rejected, as what might introduce an inundation of more sense and impertinence. He alledged, "there was but very little in it;" but it was replied, "Nobody could answer where it would end." As I am a great lover of justice, I must complain of some partiality in rejecting the performance for the wit of it; but so it is, that when the *Man* is out of fashion, he is not to be allowed neighbour's fare, either as a Wit or a Fool. The Song is the most out of the way that can be to please them; for, instead of a Man dying for love, which is the common case, the Author has been so impertinent as to make a Woman in love, and thus to bewail herself.

THE LOVE-SICK MAID,

A SONG. Set by Mr. GALLIARD.

I.

FROM place to place, forlorn I go,
With downcast eyes, a silent shade;
Forbidden to declare my woe;
To speak, till spoken to, afraid.

II. Me

ii.

Me to the Youth, who caus'd my grief,
 My too consenting looks betray ;
 He loves, but gives me no relief ;
 Why speaks not he who may ?

If these high designs were carried on, non-sensical as they are, without prospect of gain, there would be still something liberal in them ; but they have received a tincture of all the sense that seems to remain amongst us, the sense of profit. But there is a stock laid-in to impose upon the stupidity of their admirers ; and it is expected that there will be a nightly succession of bubbles in numbers large enough, who will part with their cash, as well as their understanding, to support a mechanic and mean profit raised by gentlemen of honour and quality upon ingenious arts. Arbitrary dealings with performers of both sexes to bring them to their prices, and helping their no-sense or nonsense of reason with their no-sense or nonsense of conscience, are the methods by which this lamentable community of Virtuofos seem to aim at an establishment.

If there is in nature a subject immediately proper to come under the title of my Paper, a recital of the acts and deeds, laws and policies, of these ble triflers, is undoubtedly my province^{formida}

I shall form my style and method upon SPRAT'S "History of the Royal Society," and
 not

not fail to give an account with how much greater success my heroes destroy, than his promoted arts and sciences.

* * An eminent Turkey Merchant, and an ingenious Foreigner, do hereby give notice, That if any person will discover the Libeler, or Libelers, who has and have falsely and maliciously insinuated in their Writings, that Sir RICHARD STEELE is ugly, so as they may be prosecuted by Law, shall have all fitting encouragements; the said Gentlemen having lost considerable matches, by reason of the similitude of their persons to the said INJURED KNIGHT.

Yesterday South Sea was 174. Opera Company 83 and a half. No Transfer.

††† In a few Days will be published, “Loyalty to His Majesty King GEORGE. Recommended in Eight Sermons, preached at St. Mary le Savoy. By Richard Syngé, Chaplain at Somerset-house. Dedicated to the Duke of Newcastle.”

N° 19. SATURDAY, *March 5*, 1719-20.

— *Animum rege, qui, nisi paret,*

— *Imperat* —

HOR. I Ep. ii. 62.

‘O check this fury, in fast fetters bind,
‘If not the slave, the tyrant of the mind!’

NEVILE.

“GOVERN your temper, for if you do
“G not, your temper will govern you,”
may pass for a translation of the Latin words at
the head of this Paper. But it is with much
L anguish

anguish of mind that I observe, and have many years lamented, that people take the quite contrary to what is the right, in cases of displeasure, for the rule of their behaviour. A Friend of mine, who was lately preparing a Comedy according to the just Laws of the Stage, had formed a character of a Gentleman very patient of injuries where he did not think himself authorized to resent them, but equally impatient upon occasions wherein it is his duty to exert anger and resentment *. The third Act of this Comedy, which, had not some accidents prevented, would have been performed before this time, has a scene in it, wherein the first character bears unprovoked wrongs, denies a duel, and still appears a man of honour and courage. This example would have been of great service; for, since we see young men are hardly able to forbear imitation of fopperies on the Stage, from a desire of praise, how warmly would they pursue true gallantries, when accompanied with the beauties with which a Poet represents them, when he has a mind to make them amiable! But this incident of the Play is between two men cool and sober, and, when not under any emotion of spirit, of exact characters. But I have my reasons at this time why I will speak of the passion of anger, or the want of temper, in case of being under excess of wine,

* This appears evidently to refer to "The Conscious Lovers," by Sir RICHARD STEELE, acted at Drury-lane in 1721.

in one or both the parties, and the disgrace of receiving a blow, or under the greater imputation of having given one to another.

It will not look like a paradox to place the latter offender in the more dishonourable circumstances, when we consider that obedience to reason is an harder task than following passion; and the magnanimity, the true spirit, the quiet courage, is that which waits till it is proper to exert itself, and never hastens to extremities. When a man in drink offends one who is sober, he cannot possibly do any thing that ought to provoke the sober man to strike him. He has not his senses his own, to be thought guilty of an offence; he has not his strength or limbs his own, to defend himself against an assault. Should a blind man vilify a Gentleman in the most opprobrious terms, and that in public company, the Gentleman would not stand excused for striking him, though he should draw his sword, and stand ready to give him what is called *satisfaction*.

The injury of striking a blow reverts upon the striker; and he is not of quality, from that moment, to demand or receive satisfaction; because going beyond due bounds dishonours a man more than not going far enough: the defect can be supplied, the excess cannot be recalled; and a man is in the lowest condition of life that has nothing but penitence to restore him to the conversation of Gentlemen. But when too

quick resentment has transported a man to fall into such a state, the best and most graceful thing he can then do, is to recover himself among men by the most frank, open humiliation, and sorrow for the offence committed. This, if done in an honest and ingenuous manner, ought to plead for his reception into company. Till this is done, he will find reasonable men will avoid those who are capable of injuring a man in a greater degree than stabbing him before his sword is drawn. If a man strikes another a blow, which is chastizing him like his slave, can he think he ought to use him like one who scorns to offend more than he is offended? He who gives me a blow bids me live with shame; he who gives me a stab bids me die, but without dishonour. When I said, "bids me live with shame," I mean, he designs I should live with shame; but nothing is shameful to which the best and most honourable men are liable: and Men of Honour are to insist, that all possible reparation be made by the giver of a blow, before he is esteemed one who deserves any thing but the same treatment from all the rest of the world.

The French Story informs us of a Dauphin of France, who, in the field, left the tent of the King his Father, upon orders to the army to march. Immediately after, these orders were countermanded; and that wing which the Dauphin commanded received the intelligence, by an Aid-de-camp, before the Prince arrived

at

at his appointed post. When he came there, he found some squadrons mounted, with a Brigadier at their head. He pronounced the word *March*; the Officer saluted him with his sword; and signified to him the orders to the contrary. The Dauphin, believing he knew the last directions, commanded him again to march; he did not move: upon which his Prince struck him with a cane. The Officer dismounted immediately, and professed so many Men of Honour should not follow a man whom they had seen struck, though by his Prince. The effect of this was, that the King called the whole Army to arms; and commanding the Brigadier to mount his horse, ordered his son to dismount, and put his hand on the stirrup of the offended soldier, to remain in that posture till all the men of that brigade, before which he had done him the injury, filed off by him, and were witnesses of the reparation. The Dauphin desired the whole Army might see him in the same posture, to testify the sorrow he had for his rashness.

The greater a man's sorrow appears for an offence committed, the greater manifestation he gives of true spirit, courage, and resolution; for, as courage is the conquest of natural fear, through a sense of honour, the exertion of rage and resentment, without fear of offending against that honour, is as shameful, as to be unable to surmount fear in your own vindication. Young men are not to believe that

merely to dare is to be valiant ; no, it consists in daring nothing but what becomes them. What then must we say, when a violent thing is done without any danger at all ? when the person injured is unable to resent or defend himself ? when tender youth, a general kind behaviour, equal or superior quality, add to the outrage of being insulted at a disadvantage ? Circumstances of this kind plead hardly and severely against the man whose passion carries him so far as to give a blow ; and, indeed, it would be the cause of every man to consider it as given to himself, his friend, or his brother ; for if rage is not withheld till proper occasion for giving it way, such an incontinence of spirit must disband all human society ; and as there is no man who is not liable to its ill effects, conversation must be always carried on under the terror of it, should there be any allowance made to such irreparable injury.

But as I began this Discourse by mentioning the case of being in drink, I shall conclude it by observing what has often been said, that “ he who laughs at a man drunk, abuses the absent ;” and adding, that “ he who strikes a man drunk, strikes a man absent.”

Mr. HOBBS calls anger sudden courage ; if it be so, it is no more than sudden courage ; and no more commendable, without regard to circumstances, than quick wit ; for all actions of men are to be esteemed as they are agreeable to propriety

propriety and reason. A great heart is as much afraid of giving as receiving an offence. Fear and rage are passions we have in common with brutes; but when to be afraid, and when to be angry, is given only to men, and distinguishes the best from the worst, the most noble from the most base of the species.

N^o 20. TUESDAY, *March 8, 1719-20.*

*Quantum quisque suâ nummorum servat in arcâ,
Tantum habet & fidei*—— Juv. Sat. iii. 143.

‘—— The Judges rate
‘Our credit in the Court by our estate.’

DRYDEN.

MY Paper concerning the Public Credit in defence of the Pamphlet called “The Crisis of Property,” and the Discourse intituled “A Nation a Family,” maintained, that it was necessary, for the support of the securities under the Government, that we should be cautious of enlarging Paper-riches. I hold it, in my own private opinion, the best method to let the Annuities run out untouched, unsolicited; and that any thing concerning them should come from themselves. But, since the stream runs violently another way, all that can be done is, to provide that they may be secured, as far as

the nature of the thing will admit, against violence or subtilty. I am therefore to demand, as Counsel for the Annuitants, for such I am resolved to be, some certain preliminaries before they go into the SOUTH SEA design.

According to my instructions, they have a melancholy prospect before them; for, should they exchange their Annuities for SOUTH SEA Stock at the present exorbitant price, it may fall upon their hands before it may be allowed them to transfer it, and so these new Owners in the SOUTH SEA may be undone; while the Directors in the mean time might part with all their stock, except enough to qualify them to be what they are, and gain to themselves many thousand pounds a man.

If I am rightly informed, they have not ever yet made a dividend without borrowing of the Bank; but that may be seen by inspection of the books of each Company.

My instructions say further, that very skilful methods have been taken to bring the stock to its present high price. The Company have bought it up themselves, and have borrowed of the SWORD BLADE Company, to enable them to do so to a still greater value.

They have not (whether they could or not) made their last dividend in cash, but paid it in fresh bonds; which, added to their old obligations, make an immense sum.

It is suggested, that what they weekly receive

ceive from the Exchequer is also employed in purchasing their own stock.

It is threatened, as I am informed, that by these arts the Stock is to rise to three hundred * *per cent.* though, at the same time, it is confidently asserted by others, that the Stock is not intrinsically worth a real hundred pounds; that is to say, a hundred pounds in the SOUTH SEA Stock is not a good hundred pounds, after a fair account made in the following respects; and every one must allow, that after they have paid the Government 7,500,000 *l.* it must be much worse than at present.

Before the Annuity subscribers in their Annuities to the SOUTH SEA Company, they demand to see the following accounts fairly stated.

First, their Accounts of trade, that they may see the sum of their losses by the Assiento Contract, and the Spanish trade.

Secondly, They enquire out of what profits they have annually divided six pounds, when they had but five pounds *per cent.* of the Government, and have borrowed so great a part of it of the Bank of England.

Thirdly, What they owe now upon bond, and at what rate of interest.

Fourthly, What quantity of their own Stock

* It actually got up higher, as will be seen in the notes to "The Crisis of Property."

they

they have bought up; and also what money they have borrowed upon it, and of whom.

Fifthly, What they owe now the SWORD BLADE Company; and at what rate of interest it was borrowed, and for what time.

Sixthly, They desire the total sum of all the weekly payments they have received from the Exchequer, and how disposed of, if not as above.

I shall only add, that what has been advanced in one of the Pamphlets, in their favour, is notoriously otherwise. The Author says, that the Annuities have advanced to 25 years purchase, on account they were to be subscribed into the SOUTH SEA Company; when the truth is, that the SOUTH SEA Stock advanced very considerably, upon expectation that *the Annuities would be subscribed.*

All this is laid before the world, to be refuted if it is false, to be supported if it is true; for when men are making bargains, the capacity of performance is the chief matter to be considered, and next to that is the means of doing it. If new powers are to be given to, and new estates to be vested in, a body of men; it is necessary to weigh matters very seriously; which if we do, we shall find that there is no gain, no method of gain to be encouraged in this Proposal, but what shall arise from trade, and the advantages from that trade to be honestly divided among the proprietors. Otherwise the Managers of this Stock will be no other,

in

in plain English, but like the Bank at a Gaming-table, who sit in greater security, and swallow by insensible degrees the cash of the unfortunate adventurers round the Board.

If its ability is to arise from any other method than that of Trade, they will destroy all trade in the Nation, for the whole Nation will become Stock-jobbers, and, instead of going abroad for wealth, we shall contend only and contrive, by base means, lyes, and artifices, to pick the pockets of one another; and so, as one man grows rich, ten men shall grow poor; for wealth got only among ourselves (as we are a nation) only makes imposthumations of some limbs of our body, which wither and starve all the rest; but wealth from abroad is food and nourishment, which give strength and vigour to the whole frame, and equally make glad and useful all the parts of the constitution.

The Proposal itself forms its advantage from lowering of interest; and lowering of interest is a jest, without bringing in more money; and more money cannot be brought in but by trade.

The skill of Stock-jobbing is nothing else but to act boldly when others are in fear, to be cautious when others are bold. If this should be done by those who may get the secret of public affairs, they would not be so honest as highwaymen: they would be setters and highwaymen too; with this further advantage
above

above the gentlemen of the road, that they would have nothing to deter them but guilt; as to the rest, they would act with safety and impunity.

It is visible that there can be no safety in subscribing to this scheme, but by receiving the full value of an hundred pounds for an hundred pounds, and taking no more for money above that for which the Government pays an interest or an annuity. For a Creditor to the Government, who becomes a Partner in the SOUTH SEA, becomes immediately Banker or Trader with them for all above his capital or real value, to wit, all for which he has no interest from the State, and in the upshot may be in danger of losing even that. In the mean time, he is to dodge, change, trick, and transfer this estate; and, if he has good intelligence, he will be in no manner of danger but that of going to the Devil.

The managers of a company with a vast capital, and acting without trading under a notion of being traders, are only so many people about a pot full of English beef; they stand round with ladles, as it boils, and skim off the fat for themselves; while those, who were to have their proportion in the meat as it was bought, must be contented with the lean offals, for want of being in favour with the providers, or in fee with the Cooks.

To conclude the present writing. If this affair is not put upon the basis of trade, and
that

that in a visible way of profit, with consideration of the contingencies, a loss it will be; and is nothing but a *great appearance*, a bulky phantom. And, according to the instructions of my Clients, it is but a gay, flaming City pageant, which amazes the crowd through which it passes: but, while we are gazing from our windows, we know *the bearers are changed*, though the show still marches on; but a boisterous multitude from the water-side, a noise of fire, or a cry and throng after a pickpocket, would be a very just alarm to make them lay down their burden, without staying for the consent of their owners.

* * At the Rehearsal on Friday last, Signior NINI-BENEDITTI rose half a note above his pitch formerly known. Opera Stock from 83 and an half when he began; at 90 when he ended.

††† “Yesterday Morning the King’s Company of Comedians, belonging to the Play-house in Drury-lane, were sworn at the Lord Chamberlain’s Office at White-hall, pursuant to an Order occasioned by their acting in obedience to his Majesty’s Licence, lately granted, exclusive of a Patent formerly obtained by Sir RICHARD STEELE, Knight. The tenor of the oath was, that, as his Majesty’s Servants, they should act subservient to the Lord Chamberlain, Vice Chamberlain, and Gentleman Usher in waiting.” London Journal, March 5, 1719-20.—See ANTI-THEATRE, N° VII.

N° 21. SATURDAY, *March* 12, 1719-20.

— *Ab uno*

Disce omnes —

OVID.

‘One Example is as good as a thousand.’

THE *French Players* have appeared on our Stage, to a crowded Audience of Gentlemen and Ladies; and, according to the advices which I have received of what passed there, the entertainment was very extraordinary *. The improvement we are to expect from them does not tend to instructing, but *peopling* the British Nation. Those who did not understand the language were, it seems, informed, by the gesture of the Actor, the main drift of the Play, which was no more nor no less than to promote (as one of our own Prologues of King Charles’s

* “Our Playhouse is put under the greatest discouragement that can possibly be, to encourage the facetious lewdness of a company of French strolling mountebanks, who are in high reputation at the Theatre in the Hay-Market, among all people who are above being entertained by Nature and Art, or in other words old SHAKESPEARE, at Drury-lane. To vary the pleasure of our gentlemen of this new taste, a subscription of great value [50,000l.] is made, to call over Italian Singers.—To compleat the triumph of these newly arrived entertainments, our best Players are in despair of company.”

Dr. RUNDLE to Mrs. SANDYS, March 24, 1719-20.

reign

reign has it) “ the hopeful work of propagation.” You must know, Harlequin appears as a lady dressing at her looking-glass, and there goes through the beginning, progress, and consummation, of a courtship, against all sense of decency, or so much as cleanliness; and, in order to mix with moral turpitude bodily uncleanness, the odious mimick points to all those parts which your imagination may blush to think of, and then the *She* is fit for the *He* brute; the Sloven is represented by motion with face downwards; the Slattern, by action of one falling or fallen backwards. To such abandoned and stupid wickedness is the Stage already degenerated: there is no hope of amendment, but that, by the setting out with the utmost baseness it can arrive at, it can proceed no further. This is not to be spoken of with the least temper: to talk of learning, modesty, or politeness, would be ridiculous; “ it would be reading lectures to Savages.” But if we are any longer to march on two legs, and not be quite prone, or on all four, like the other animals, let us assume manhood and human indignation against so barbarous an affront. To acquaint women of honour with what is more filthy than could be seen at a brothel; to entertain our wives and daughters with what their whole education tended to make them abhor; is something more monstrous than I believed even this age of contradictions could ever produce. All this dishonour is to be purchased
also

also at an higher price than any reasonable entertainment; and you are to pay for this abomination what would lately have been thought the most impudent extortion to have demanded for the decoration of a noble Tragedy. But I foresee the Theatre is to be utterly destroyed; and sensation is to banish reflection, as sound is to beat down sense. The head and heart are to be moved no more; but the basest parts of the body to be hereafter the sole instruments of human delight. A regular, orderly, and well-governed Company of Actors, that lived in reputation and credit, and under decent settlement, are to be torn to pieces and made vagabond, to make room for even foreign vagrants, who deserved no reception but in Bridewell, even before they affronted an assembly, composed of the British Nobility and Gentry, with representations that could introduce nothing of even *French* but the disease so called.

We live now in an age that does not bear so much as the appearance of good, and we have outlived even hypocrisy. The Wench in Petronius, who said she did not remember the time when she was a maid, will soon be among us no extraordinary character; if we go on, the very appellations of innocence, and words to express inexperience of evil, will be lost in our language. Doves were the old emblems of desire, and drew the chariot of the Cyprian Venus; but the British, I can assure you, will not be so poorly conveyed. The undertakers design to
get

get a subscription for representing on the Stage the nuptials of a stone-horse. It is true, indeed, that this cannot offend after what has been above represented; but as there can be no progress made in our own species, after what they have been pleased already to give us, it may be of further entertainment to see the violence of the same instinct in other animals. I wish they may stop here; for I cannot but think it may endanger the House, if they should go on in the intended Opera Marine, wherein, to raise the horror of the Fair sex, they represent the meeting of an he and she whale, who had long been in love, and in the accomplishment of the amour shook the Island of Juan Fernandes.

Such discoveries as these are not to be made to the generality of the world; nor do I think any ought to be present at them except Midwives and Physicians, who can make a right use of comparative anatomy.

This is what is doing at one end of the world; what are they about at the other? Why, as Lust is made the reigning impulse of the TOWN, Avarice is the one and entire passion of the CITY. The language in both places expresses itself accordingly; they mean emphatically their different appetites by the same common term. *Doing* in the City is getting money; *Doing* in the Town is getting Children. Where will such managements end? I find a sort of fantastical comfort in another quite different sort of foreign ware amongst us.

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Though the French are so boisterous and void of all moderation or temper in their conduct, the Italians are a more tractable and elegant nation. If the French Players have laid aside all shame, the Italian Singers are as eminently nice and delicate, which the Reader will observe from the following account, which I have received from the Hay-Market.

To SIR JOHN EDGAR, Auditor-General of the
 World, and the Stage.
 Hay-Market, March 9, 1719-20.

YOUR last Paper very rightly, and with great justice, notified to the Town the rise of the Opera-stock, occasioned by the elevation of half a note above the usual pitch of Signior BENEDITTI. I hope, Sir, you will allow no one hereafter to call him *no Man*, when you shall have heard from me, how much he is a Man of Honour. It happened, Sir, in the casting of the parts for the new Opera, that he had been, as he conceived, greatly injured, and the other day applied to the Board of Directors, of which I am an unworthy member, for redress. He set forth, in the recitative tone, the nearest approaching ordinary speech, that he had never acted any thing, in any other Opera, below the character of a Sovereign, or at least a Prince of the Blood; and that now he was appointed to be
 “ a Captain

“ a Captain of the Guard, and a Pimp. The
 “ Chairman reprimanded him with much ri-
 “ gour, for pretending to dispute any part
 “ given him; and directed him to withdraw.
 “ He did accordingly; and it was debated
 “ among us for some time, whether he ought
 “ to be relieved. He found friends, and was
 “ made a Prince; but he urged further, that
 “ he had a most particular excellence in making
 “ love; and hoped they would allot him a scene
 “ to shew that talent. He withdrew again by
 “ order; and we directed, that he should make
 “ love to ZENOBIA, with proper limitations.
 “ The Chairman signified to him, that the
 “ Board had made him a Lover; but he must
 “ be contented to be an unfortunate one, and
 “ be rejected by his mistress. He expressed
 “ himself very easy under this, and seemed to
 “ rejoice that (considering the inconstancy of
 “ women) he could only feign, not pursue, that
 “ passion to extremity. He muttered very
 “ much against the very attempt of making
 “ him only a Guard to the character he had
 “ formerly appeared in; and said still much
 “ more on the insult of designing him for a
 “ Pimp: ‘It was,’ said he, ‘enough that For-
 “ tune has bereft me of the possession of the
 “ Fair by force; and when I could not know
 “ what I lost: she shall never bring me so low
 “ as to resign them by my will and consent;
 “ much less to make way for, or contribute
 “ to giving them into the arms of other men.’

“ This appeared to the Board, in a person of
 “ BENEDITTI’S circumstances, a great question,
 “ whether jealousy or envy were the reason he
 “ had such an aversion to being commodious.
 “ Your leisure-thought on the subject will
 “ much oblige, Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ MUSIDORUS.”

Thus far we have represented the violence of one of the prevailing inclinations. The other shall be shown in an Epistle of very few lines from London :

“ SIR,

“ **P**RAY add to your late observations upon
 “ the insecurity of the SOUTH SEA, that it
 “ would be nonsense to purchase a partnership
 “ in a stock of a merchant, whose bond is not
 “ so good as his note. The SOUTH SEA Stock
 “ is 185; a bond from that Company of 100l.
 “ is worth but 99l. From hence it appears,
 “ that the most considerable buyers are them-
 “ selves; and that they purchase what they
 “ know is not of equal value to what they give
 “ for it, in order to take-in such as do not un-
 “ derstand what is intrinsic, and what ima-
 “ ginary. But I have learnt to distinguish
 “ from you; and am,

“ Your obliged, humble servant,

“ ANNUITANT MAIDEN.”

N^o 22. TUESDAY, *March 15, 1719-20.*

‘Genius of England, from the Dead arise!’ DRYDEN.

THE most wicked action which a man can commit is to spread fears and doubts among the people, against the common interest and advantage, from any private motive of profit, humour, malice, or vanity, in which he indulges himself. But, on the contrary, the contempt of profit and loss, applause and detraction, to a man’s apparent and sensible disadvantage, for the good of others, is as honest a design as the other is dishonourable. I shall not use the great word “Public Spirit;” but be contented at present to say, I am moved only-by common charity, and that to all men, to proceed in what I have further to urge on behalf of the Annuitants, and others, to whom *this Nation is an Accomptant*; I say to whom *the State of Great Britain is an Accomptant*; for my opinion is, that the more humble, and the more near the behaviour and style of Accomptants, and the more they shun the air of demanding on this occasion, the more will men consult the true greatness, the intrinsic wealth, and the solid power of these dominions; for there is no last-

ing greatness, wealth, or power, but what is founded on equitable not arbitrary proceedings. As counsel for the Annuitants, I shall lay before my Reader some further considerations on the present great affair, which takes up the attention of the world.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, King PHILIP is to have one quarter part of all the profits the SOUTH SEA Company shall make by their Trade to New Spain. He is to have an Agent here, who is to inspect all the Company's books and accounts relating to that trade. Before the war broke out, there were vast sums of money remitted to Spain on that account. Now the Annuitants desire to know out of what profits those remittances were made; if there were no profits (which many aver), then whatever money was sent King PHILIP on that head was taking from the Proprietors so much money; and some say they are sure great sums were remitted on that account.

It is daily expected a Treaty will be set on foot, and that we shall have a Peace with Spain: the SOUTH SEA Company has drawn out a large account of all their demands for what was seized of theirs in New Spain, &c. and this Account, it is said, amounts to no less than 1,500,000*l*. It would be very hard upon the poor annuitants that they must become sharers in all those bad articles, and make good the losses and mismanagements of such prodigious sums which they were no way concerned in,
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should they never be reimbursed to the SOUTH SEA Company.

Their Stock is now 185 l. *per Cent.* and their bonds are one pound *per Cent.* discount; their stock advances, because, perhaps, they buy it up themselves; their bonds are every day at a greater discount, because the money that should pay them is thus or otherwise employed. Common Fame says, they have been at great expences already about this Bill; and that many Esquires and Gentlemen, and several Land-owners, begin to understand the use of money and credit. What is it the Directors of a Company, whose capital is near twelve millions, cannot do on some occasions? And who can stand before them when the capital shall become forty and two millions? If it should, farewell all trade, for all honest and industrious men will by this means be undone. When this Company was first established, the Sloop-trade to New Spain was forbid upon the severest penalties, and it was consequently lost; now there are those who will take upon them to prove, that we have had more money come in one ship from our Plantations (which they got by the Sloop-trade to New Spain), than the SOUTH SEA Company has imported in all their time; upon which let the SOUTH SEA Company's books and the West India Merchants be consulted.

It may be demonstrated to the world, that if the SOUTH SEA Company will shew their

books, and let their accounts be fairly stated, that upon a fair division of their capital it would not come out 80 l. *per Cent.* for their Proprietors, now at this very time, and as their books now stand.

What will become of this poor Nation, if it be true that another Company has carried out all our heavy money, and have only left us shillings and six-pences enough to change a guinea, and not much more; and it is the opinion of all thinking men, that this Company's stock, which now sells for 212 l. *per cent.* is not worth above ——. They have tottered and failed a little twice in the space of 30 years, and it is feared may do so again in less than half that time.

It is to be hoped the SOUTH SEA Company will not be admitted to squander away the gold, and what little money is left us, in a notional trade; but that their trade, and all other their circumstances, will be thoroughly examined, in order to make them useful, and not formidable to their country.

When I consider these matters with due attention, I am seized with the most warm indignation imaginable. The apparent, nay professed inducement to these extraordinary proceedings, is the observation of what has been done in France.

But let all men know, that the whole of that matter is owing to one great genius for business; and that Mr. LAW has had skill and good fortune

fortune enough to find a Prince that would hear him, and make use of him.

In this conjunction of capacity and power, there is no conjuring in the matter deeper than this, that the Prince shall interpose his power, when the Counsellor can go no farther with his skill.

If Mr. LAW's note, payable at demand, calls out of his hands 10,000 l. and he fears others will come for more than he is able to pay, the Regent, by a proclamation, shall, as occasion serves, lower the coin, and adjust it to the ability of his Banker. If money is as low as the Government pleases in the hands of the subject, and as high as it pleases in its own possession, it is impossible it should break.

To turn this into plainer English. If a man had an order from the Treasury to receive an hundred pounds at the Mint in the Tower, and the centinel at the gate should have orders, as he comes out with it, to take part of it from him; as long as this practice could be endured, the State could never want cash. But, if an homely simile may be forgiven, it may be an useful admonition to give all admirers of Mississippi, that it is much less dangerous to take a bone out of the jaws of a French Lap-dog, than the hold of an English Mastiff.

The Acceptance of the SOUTH SEA scheme could never be meant to bind men further than to receive it, and pass it into a law, if nothing better should occur. But, if there happens some-

something much better, or what is offered, upon consideration, is not of the value it first seemed to be, it is to be contradicted, and interrupted, and disputed; till the minute wherein it shall have passed the Royal assent; which, as it now stands, I hope, will never be granted to it.

The Votes and Resolutions of Parliament are published for no other end, but to shew what our Representatives are doing in our behalf, and to alarm all, both within and without doors, to think and act for the public good, with relation to their transactions, in all humility, but with all zeal imaginable. Therefore I am justified, if I to the whole world, and any friend of mine in any partiular place, can, instead of this pernicious, partial, and dangerous Proposal (as upon consideration it appears), produce an useful, popular, and safe expedient to save the credit, and advance the power, wealth, and honour, of the British Empire. God save the KING.

* * * "At the Boarded House, in Marybone Fields, on Wednesday next, March 16, will be performed a Trial of Skill between JOHN PARKES from Coventry, and JAMES FIGG from Thame in Oxfordshire, Master of the noble Science of Defence, at the usual Weapons fought on the Stage. — *N. B.* They never thought to have fought any more; but being desired by a great number of Gentlemen which were present when they fought Six Scholars of each Master's, at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand; and the Two Masters fought Three Bouts, and gave great Satisfaction." Original Weekly Journal, March 12, 1719:20.

N^o 23. SATURDAY, *March* 19, 1719-20.

‘God prosper long our noble King,

‘Our lives and safeties all!’ CHEVY-CHACE.

SINCE I have known the world, and I have taken as much notice of what has passed as any man in it, I have not thought the Nation in so imminent danger as I think it at present, from the applauded Project (it is yet no more) of putting the funds for discharge of the public debts into the care and management of the Directors of the SOUTH SEA. Whatever conveniences might arise from it to the Government, the promoters of it are but shallow politicians, and do not understand the greatest, though the most trite and familiar maxim, that “Honesty is the best policy.”

Arguments drawn from the convenience and profit of the Government with an indifference to Justice and Equity, are so far from being proper and just arguments, that they tend to the real destruction, rather than the real good, of the community. It is as absolutely necessary for a Government, as a private man, to be strictly honest, to keep up their credit. Reasons of State are only other words for injustice and oppression,

sion, if the reasons of State are inconsistent with Reason itself.

To say some must suffer that the greater part may be in prosperity, is as much as to say, a man who has more children than he can maintain may, out of good husbandry, cut the throats of two or three, to enable himself the better to maintain the rest. No, the bread is to be divided equally; and, according to the law of Nature and Reason, every individual is to live or die upon the equal distribution.

The project is worse than what appears from this illustration; for, instead of destroying the less number to accommodate the greater, the Project undoes the greater to enrich the smaller number.

We have had a war which has cost us many millions; and the benefits of the peace are, by this Project, to be transferred from the body of the people to the partners of the SOUTH SEA.

The Funds for payments of debts are to be in them; and the Project, if ratified by law, will give the Company the double of what is transcribed or paid into them; their stock, which is now (as to all above an hundred pounds) only *Impudence*, will then be thought a good two hundred *per cent.*; so that they will be possessors of, perhaps, forty millions, for which there are funds, and an imaginary forty millions more upon their stock. When the Legislature has given them forty millions, they will be so good and gracious as to give
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the Government (*not the publick*) seven millions of it, to pay off honest creditors.

Then is to begin the Comedy of Errors; and fools are to run into poverty, in pursuit of riches.

I have been told, I know nothing of this matter; I do not, forsooth, understand figures. If I do not, by the blessing of God, I very soon will, as well as the greatest Sharper in England: but thus much I know of numbers already, that they consist of cyphers and figures; and in this Project there is no more necessary to judge of it, but that the bubbles are the mere cyphers which are to make the Sharpers significant figures.

The best image I have heard of this kind of wealth is, that the owners of it are boys playing round the fire with a lighted stick: each reckons a hundred with the stick in his hand, and then gives it to the next; the child in whose hand the fire goes out is basted.

But, if every man in the Project should come off with gain, whence will he have got it? It is certain he must have it from the rest of his countrymen, who must be losers in the proportion wherein he is a gainer.

Shall a Legislature foresee and enact upon schemes that have this apparent tendency? But, they say, every man is to take care of himself; yes, but the Parliament is to preserve every man in a condition to do so. But sanctifying such a scheme as this is the sin of rapine

pine and oppression; for though men do not aim at, or know who will be hurt by it, yet when they know some or other will, they should forbear an action which must certainly injure some uncertain person, or they will be as guilty as if they directed the blow at him.

If a man should think fit to divert himself by throwing stones over his house into a frequented street, and knock out the brains of a passenger whom he never saw, it would not, neither ought it, be esteemed chance-medley, but the wilful slaughter of a man.

A gentleman who has a vote on this great occasion should remember every man in England is in his immediate care: I say, every man in England, for the greatest of all will be most affected by it, though the meanest is likely to suffer more immediately. Wherever the direction of wealth is lodged, there will be the balance of power; and the Sub-governor and Company will be much too strong for the Governor and his Parliament. I see nothing which can hinder the Parliament and Company from being the same persons; and I leave any man to judge whether, in that probable case of the same persons being Representatives of the people, and sharers in the Company, their first care would be of the People or of the Company.

A Pensionary of Holland, when the French Ambassador asked him, in a haughty tone, "What was the meaning that the State, at that time of peace, beat up for soldiers," answered,

swered, with a very gentle air, “All fashions
 “come from France; and we only do it be-
 “cause you do.” This was very well said;
 but it is ridiculously attempted among us, to do
 with the SOUTH SEA what they are doing in
 France with their MISSISSIPPI; because we do
 not mean the same thing for which that Project
 was intended; to ease the Crown, and load the
 people; or, in other words, to enrich the King,
 and cheat the subject. But, according to our
 constitution, their interest is the same; and,
 indeed, I must own, in some degree, their in-
 terest is the same according to this Scheme.
 The project does not sacrifice the King to the
 People, nor the People to the King; but, in my
 humble opinion, gives them both to the SOUTH
 SEA.

No National Plan can be good, for which
 every man in the dominions is not the better,
 and the best men the greatest gainers.

Merchants and Tradesman, Gentlemen and
 Yeomen, are the Patrons and Dependants of
 this Nation, and make up the main body of it.
 But this Project will expose them to the oppres-
 sion of Sharpers, Usurers, and Extortioners.

Except the Company carries on a gainful
 trade, the lowering interest of money will be
 an hardship instead of being a relief. These
 paper-coiners will bury cash, and draw still
 more into their own hands. It will be ex-
 tortion for others to lend the people upon terms
 above the common interest; and these gentle-
 men

men may extort every day, with impunity, much more by the game of Stock-jobbing.

All arts, liberal and mechanic, must give way to the want of cash for carrying them on. None but the SOUTH SEA men can be supplied, or have to supply; and they can think of employing it no way so well as in their own stock. The greatest men among them, in concert with greater and worse men elsewhere, may play into each other's hands, by dreadful and hopeful lies, what fortunes they please, as often as they please, and, in the virulence of usury and extortion, get and enjoy by the labour and hazard of other men, without hazard or labour of their own.

Upon the whole, the thing seems, in my opinion, to be a solemn and pompous jobb, which may, in its consequences, bring to pass what NERO wished, "That the people had but
"one neck, that he might take them all off
"at one blow."

†† Just published, "Publick Virtue the only Prefer-
vative of Liberty and Property; or, Slavery the natural
Consequence of Avarice and Corruption. A Sermon
preached at Wallingford, Berks, at a late Election of a
Burgess to serve in Parliament." By DAVID SCURLOCK,
M. A. Fellow of Jesus College in Oxford. Dedicated to
Sir Richard Steele, Knt. Printed for J. Roberts in War-
wick-lane. Orig. Theatre.

N° 24. TUESDAY, *March 15, 1719-20.*

— *Bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.*

HOR. I Ep. vi. 38.

‘ They who all-mighty Money share,
 ‘ A portion’d Wife, Fame, Credit, Friends possess;
 ‘ These Venus’ self and soft Persuasion bless.’

DUNCOMBE.

THE impudence and injustice with which the moneyed part of mankind behave themselves towards the rest of the world, is carried to such an height, that Faith and Honour are no more mentioned in the dispute. To urge them against interest, is only thought vain and romantic. Under this difficulty must a man serve his country in the present great question about the making over and adding this Government and People to the stock of the SOUTH SEA. This infamous and unjust design receives new strength every hour; and, if I am rightly informed, there are persons so audacious as to assume the names of Members of both Houses of Parliament, and to subscribe in those names to the carrying on a Project which is now under their deliberation: by which means the world without doors may conceive hopes or fears of success from the interested voices which are to determine this great, this dreadful, this last question concerning the Constitution of this Empire.

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It is but as one of the minute evils arising from this Scheme, that it will be a question, whether, for the future, the way to advance a man's fortune shall be to serve mankind in some honest profession, or by robbing and circumventing other men to enrich himself. But as self-interest seems to affect the souls of men as forcibly as gravity weighs down bodies, our arguments against this Scheme must be drawn from the consideration of their profit. The additional strength of this Company must be too hard for the People of England, or the People of England too strong for this Company. Their interests cannot possibly be the same. As this Company grows rich, this Nation must grow poor. Nothing can make the Nation more rich but Trade; and this Company does not so much as assert, that their only means of gain is to be Trade. All other means are odious, and abhorrent to the very nature of our being and situation. Profit by Trade is shared by all the Nation; Profit by the exorbitant use of money only brings advantage to the usurer, and impoverishes the borrower. The cash of this kingdom will, by insensible degrees, be in the hands of yet fewer owners: and as it is absolutely necessary that all men should have of it, in proportion to their fortunes, for their respective uses, those who want it (in spite of any other power whatsoever) must have it on the terms which those who have it shall think fit to demand.

On the other side, when any particular Company is become a national evil, the rage of an injured and deluded People will demand justice upon them, or take it themselves. Monopoly in some branch of Trade is sometimes given by the Legislature, or Sovereign, as a means to obtain of moneyed men some accommodation, or help, for the body of the People; but this Company, according to this scheme, is not to have a monopoly of Trade, but a monopoly of Money. The rest of the world are to be tied down to a certain price for the use of their money; but this is to be *a licensed, unaccountable society of gaming extortioners*. If our present Lawgivers should constitute them to be what they desire, the next Lawgivers may be of their own chusing: and we need not say what the rest of the world are to expect, when all the good, which in that case can happen to them, must come from the self-denial of the ministers and worshipers of the idol, Money.

As I find there is no argument will do against this ruinous design to the rest of the world, but shewing that it cannot be advantageous even to those who shall engage in it, except they are concerned in the secret management; I will consider the liberal art and mystery of Stock-jobbing.

To lay all this black mystery open, let us suppose the Company to jobb with a tenth part of their capital, and upon this tenth part to make ten *per cent.* profit every year. This ten

per cent. profit on a tenth of the capital is one *per cent.* on the whole. The case then is thus: I sell my stock at a certain price, and buy it again at ten *per cent.* more. In return of this ten *per cent.* out of my pocket, the Company gives me one *per cent.* extraordinary in dividend at the end of the year. But how am I made amends for the other nine? Suppose I keep my stock, and, to be able to make the same extraordinary dividend the next year, the Company puts the same bargain on somebody else; I then get back one more of my ten. The same is repeated with somebody else the third year, and I get one more; and by this means, in ten years, I get my ten back again without any interest for it; then, if I have a mind to help to carry on this farce, I must begin again, and advance ten *per cent.* more. But what is there in all this, but giving ten years purchase for an annuity of ten years? which is trusting my money out without having any interest for it. But the case is not so well as this; for this would be the case, suppose the bite should go but fairly round, and that I should sit still till it come to my turn once in ten years, and that none but the Company should be driving this jobbing trade. But, instead of this, I am drawn-in to be bubbled every year; as the Company trades, cunning men trade too, and put their profits into their own pockets, and return nothing back to their bubbles in dividends. So that, in truth, for my

my one *per cent.* gained in dividend every year by the mystery of Stock-jobbing, I pay every year ten, which makes me yearly cheated of nine, to fill the pockets of the cunning Managers. Surely I need open this mystery no further.

But we are told, that this bargain made with the Government is of so great advantage, that the Company will divide ten *per cent.* or more, for several years. It is true, they may do so, if the Stock keeps up at the high rate it is now at, and it appears to be running higher. To shew how much this is the worse for those who buy at these high prices, I will make two suppositions.

To avoid numbers too compounded, let us suppose the present capital of the SOUTH SEA to be twelve millions, the additional capital to be thirty-one, and to money to be sunk upon that capital, *viz.* to the redeemable and irredeemable debts, and to the Government, to be forty-one. For the first supposition then, I imagine the new capital to be sold at 150 *per cent.*

Present capital	—	—	12,000,000
Additional capital	—	—	31,000,000

Total nominal capital	—	—	43,000,000
-----------------------	---	---	------------

The price of ad- ditional capital (31 millions)	}	46,500,000
---	---	------------

Deduct accounted	}	41,000,000
to the creditors		
of the Publick,		
and to the Go-	}	5,500,000
vernment,		

Remains the profit	}	5,500,000
to the Company		

5,500,000

48,500,000

Total value of the capital 43; which makes 100 of Stock worth about 113. Therefore those who give 150 lose 37, which is $24 \frac{4}{5}$ per cent.

For the second supposition, let us imagine the additional capital to be sold at 200. Then the account will be thus:

Received by the Com-	}	62,000,000
pany for their addi-		
tional capital	}	41,000,000
Paid the creditors of		
the Publick, and		
to the Government	}	21,000,000

Remains profit to the	}	21,000,000
Company		

Their nominal capital	—	21,000,000
-----------------------	---	------------

21,000,000

43,000,000

64,000,000

Total

Total value of the capital 43; which makes 100 Stock worth about 149.

Therefore those who give 200 lose 51, which is $25\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* And the higher the price of stock is, the greater will be the loss to the purchasers of it; though the greatest loss (supposing all the additional capital to sell at the same price) cannot exceed 28 *per cent.*

But in these suppositions I am too favourable to the Company; for I suppose, either that the advantage made by the advanced price will be returned immediately to the proprietors in dividend, or that, while it remains in the hands of the Company, it will be improved, to produce at least four *per cent.* to be paid the Proprietors with their dividends. It is already pretended that much greater advantages will be made of it; but so long as they have no other trade but that of Stock-jobbing, it is hard to find whence that profit can grow; and I fear that no use will be made of that advanced price, but the returning at several times large portions of it, to give the greater appearance of wonderful gains, to increase the price of stock for the enriching those who are in the secret, and to the ruin of those who are imposed on by them. By the computations I have made, it plainly appears that they may for some years make large dividends, perhaps of 10 *per cent.* or more, upon their nominal capital. But these appearances do not at all make the stock worth more, but only serve to amuse the people, in order to their

undoing; besides their directly tending to keep money dead, withdrawing it from trade, giving people nothing for it, but part of their own money back again in parcels, with abundance of most pernicious and destructive consequences, which knowing men will much easier see than I can describe.

P O S T S C R I P T.

The Stock of the SOUTH SEA rose fifty *per cent.* in one hour's time, which, by the year, is 8760l. *per cent.* and upon the whole, forty millions comes to

17,520,000,000,000.

I am considering, at this rate, in what time the company may purchase the terraqueous globe, Gibraltar and Minorca inclusive.

* * Just published, "A Nation a Family;" being the Sequel of "The Crisis of Property; or, a Plan for the Improvement of the SOUTH SEA Propofal." By Sir RICHARD STEELE, Knt. Member of Parliament. To be had at the same place with this Paper; and at J. Brotherton's, at the Black Bull in Cornhill. Price 6d. Orig. Theatre.

††† This day is published, by W. Borcham, price 4d. "A Letter from Signori BENEDITTI BALDASSARII, of the Hay market, to Sir RICHARD STEELE, of Drury-Lane."

'Centimanus Gyas

'Virgineâ domitus sagittâ.' HOR. 3 Od. iv. 69.

Daily Post, March 16, 1719-20.

☞ This day is published, The Equity of Parliaments and Public Faith, vindicated; in Answer to "The Crisis of Property," and addressed to the Annuitants. By Sir JOHN MEERES, F. R. S. The second Edition, corrected. Printed for C. Coningsby, Price 6d. Ibid. March 18, 1719-20.

N^o 25. SATURDAY, *March 26*, 1720.

Si manibus hominum pereo, periisse juvabit.

‘ Let me but nobly die, I die content.’

THE following Letter is of great importance, and shall fill this Paper in the very words wherein it came to my hands.

A Letter from a COMMONER to a PEER of
GREAT BRITAIN.

“ MY LORD,

“ **I**N the sudden and violent course of human
“ affairs, at present, I am obliged to apply
“ for succour, in my utmost distress, to a power,
“ which, in the beginning of this very Session
“ of Parliament, I looked upon with terror*.
“ I feared then an Aristocracy from the growing
“ authority of your house; but I now have no
“ consolation, under an impending danger of
“ something very little better, if not worse,
“ than Anarchy, but from the generosity and
“ public spirit of that illustrious Assembly.

“ If what I fear must happen, unhappy were
“ we who shunned a vassalage to Nobles, to
“ be sacrificed to a crowd of the basest men of
“ all orders.

* See the PLEBEIAN, *passim*.

“ In

“ In subjection to your Lordships, should you
 “ degenerate from what you now are, we should,
 “ at worst, but have been under the tyranny
 “ of Ambition. In our present apprehension,
 “ we shall be under the domination of Avarice.
 “ There is always in Ambition something that
 “ bears a resemblance of Virtue and Honour;
 “ but Avarice knows no good, or even the ap-
 “ pearance of good; it is unmixed, sincere vice,
 “ and that in the ugliness thereof.

“ If we resign ourselves to the Ambitious, we
 “ may be vassals in gaudy attire, and wanton
 “ maintenance. If we depend on the Covetous,
 “ our raiment must be sackcloth, and our food
 “ offals. The covetous man cannot indulge his
 “ appetite but by preying upon his very servants.
 “ The Ambitious take delight in the splendid
 “ appointments of their followers, and swell
 “ with pleasure to see them prosperous, even
 “ to insolence.

“ To come nearer to my purpose in this
 “ Epistle. I am to lament that the unskilful
 “ in the art of Government have not been dis-
 “ couraged by a defeat in their attempts to sa-
 “ crifice their Master and his People to am-
 “ bition; but have now projected the common
 “ ruin upon a more universal motive, upon
 “ a more diffusive ill principle, in which all
 “ but virtuous men can partake, to wit, Co-
 “ vetousness. The whole world can share in
 “ profit, but the whole world cannot be par-
 “ takers of honour. The latter is a reward
 “ that must be visible; the former is a recom-
 “ pence

“ pence conveyed and distributed in secret.
 “ Honour is a sword that is brandished, and
 “ glitters in the faces of those whom it chal-
 “ lenges and subdues: Profit is a dagger hid
 “ till it wounds, and operates best when most
 “ concealed.

“ This vice has spread its contagion so ef-
 “ fectually, that a law, in all human probabi-
 “ lity, will be soon offered to your Lordships,
 “ implying, in effect, that it shall hereafter be
 “ lawful for certain persons *to gain as much more*
 “ *than the value of what they sell, to whomsoever*
 “ *they can, provided they will give a certain pro-*
 “ *portion of it to the discharge of the public debts.*
 “ This, I know, you will read with indignation
 “ suitable to the magnanimity of a Peer of
 “ Great Britain; and, I hope, it will rouse in
 “ you a spirit that may diffuse itself through
 “ the whole House, by the force of your elo-
 “ quence, and the justice of your cause.

“ Bold, and dangerous, and pernicious at-
 “ tempts have been made before now; factious
 “ spirit and disdainful animosity have often en-
 “ dangered the State; involuntary acts have
 “ been extorted from owners of property, to
 “ disguise the necessities, and quiet the cla-
 “ mours, of the People; but never till this
 “ hour was it proposed *to a Legislature, that*
 “ *some men should cheat others, in order to accom-*
 “ *modate the Government.* This, my Lord,
 “ would be supporting power by the abuse of
 “ it, and practising tyranny to preserve do-
 “ minion.

“ We,

“ We, my Lord, from whom it is expected
“ only to do justice, and pursue righteousness,
“ behold this with tears; but our sorrow can-
“ not move hearts made stupid by gain, or
“ pierce ears deafened by interest. Men in
“ lower life are contented to live without
“ shame, and numbers in guilt avert that con-
“ cern, and make reflection cease to be painful.
“ A majority among us share infamy till the
“ burden is unfelt; while a minority can hardly
“ bear up in the practice of honour; nay, in a
“ minority of us, it is an act of courage even
“ to be innocent.

“ But persons of your birth and education
“ are inspired from infancy with a superior
“ sense of things; it is not enough with you
“ to be irreproachable, but you know it is de-
“ manded of you as of course to be worthy of
“ praise. We are more easily surprized into
“ indirect paths, who are contented with ob-
“ scurity, so we avoid blame; but Nobles, to
“ whom it is disgrace to be but inglorious, are
“ animated with motives too enlarged to be
“ diverted from the paths of honour by so mean
“ a bait as self-interest. The bait to be laid
“ before Nobility is glory; and never, my
“ Lord, was there before so great a store of it
“ to be divided, as the present conjuncture offers
“ to your Lordships.

“ Contempt of unjust gain, which is natu-
“ rally inherent to generous minds, brings you
“ at once to the summit of human grandeur.

“ An

“ An injured Sovereign, a falling State, and a
“ deluded People, are the great objects of your
“ compassion and protection. Assume your-
“ selves, ye illustrious men ! excell by one act
“ all the glorious enterprizes, enjoy in one in-
“ stant the whole honourable lives, of your
“ Ancestors : you need not the painful toil by
“ which they ascended to honour ; you need
“ not longer owe any thing to their honourable
“ names ; you can in this one act immortalize
“ your own.

“ Consider the vast treasure, in a series of
“ ages, expended to preserve the land in which
“ you have the greatest fortunes ; and, if you
“ can, call it extravagance and profusion.

“ Look back on the generous contempt of
“ life in those who, in the ages past, fell by the
“ sword in defence of that Kingdom whereof
“ you are Nobles ; and, if you can, declare
“ they died in vain.

“ My Lord, be pleased to let me conclude,
“ by laying this matter before you in a way
“ that will more familiarly touch your noble
“ mind, which has been employed in pursuits
“ too sublime for a ready conception of these
“ low considerations of profit. Do but think
“ of money as the means of subsistence ; and
“ you will easily comprehend, that any thing
“ purchased by money, and not reducible to
“ money when it is wanted, will be of as
“ little use as jewels in a famine would be to
“ him who wants bread. Behold then, the
“ Mana-

“ Managers of the SOUTH SEA Stock, under an
 “ exigence from abroad or at home, bereft of
 “ all that imaginary excrescence above the real
 “ value, and the purchaser of one hundred
 “ pounds with three hundred pounds reduced
 “ to accept of a third of what he paid.

“ When you have thought but thus far, and
 “ will please to place the whole British Nation
 “ before your eyes, claiming part of this cash,
 “ you will see property, in what is absolutely
 “ necessary for the support of life, to be in
 “ vain urged in supply of the luxury of some
 “ against the wants of ALL. The heady fol-
 “ lowers of gain, who meditated and contrived
 “ this destruction, would then find the spectres
 “ of Want and Necessity, Hunger and Thirst,
 “ too hard for the insatiable glutton Avarice;
 “ and behold all human-race tearing and de-
 “ vouring each other. Which that the illust-
 “ rious House of Peers may avert, to their own
 “ immortal honour, and thereby rescue from
 “ these terrors the deceived and devoted subjects
 “ of these dominions, is the hearty prayer of,
 “ my Lord, your Lordship’s most obliged and
 “ most obedient servant, COMMONER LOWLY.”

March 23, Briton Noble.

☞ On Monday next will be published, the Second Edition of “ OVID’S METAMORPHOSES.” In Fifteen Books. Translated by Mr. Dryden, Mr. Congreve, Dr. Garth, Mr. Gay, Mr. Addison, Mr. Eusden, Mr. Rowe, Mr. Mainwaring, Mr. Croxall, Mr. Pope, and other eminent hands. Published by Sir Samuel Garth, M. D. adorned with sculptures. In Two Volumes. Printed for J. Brotherton, and W. Meadows, at the Black Bull in Cornhill.

N° 26. TUESDAY, *March 29, 1720.*

— *Quippe minuti*

Semper & infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas

Ultio —

JUV. Sat. xiii. 189.

‘ He whom Revenge can charm, is curs’d, you’ll find,
‘ With a mean, impotent, and selfish mind.’

NEVILLE.

THE INJURED KNIGHT *, dispossess’d of a large estate, libel’d, caluminated, and abus’d, in speech, manuscript, and print, presented me with a “ State of the Case between a most noble Lord and himself.” I struck off many allusions and complaints, which I knew proceeded from rage and indignation, which had their vicissitudes, among other passions, in the anguish of heart, and bitterness of soul, of him who suffers without guilt, and is robbed of the means of providing for the innocent. “ You take,” said I, “ a wrong way of defending yourself against injury done to you without malice. He heedlessly thinks only of what

* It is said, a most excellent Comedy of Sir R. STEELE’s is to be prohibited acting, lest it should draw away good company, and spoil the relish for Operas, “ by seducing them with sense, wit, and humour.” Dr. RUNDLE to Mrs. SANDYS, March 24, 1719-20.

“ he

“ he himself has a mind to, and not of what
“ he takes from you. He desires to be pleased,
“ without reflecting that, to make him so, you
“ are to be tormented. You must collect your
“ spirit, and struggle in your adversity with
“ patience, till you make the rest of the world
“ see your case may be their own.”

He murmured much passionate language; which I excused, from the reflection that the unhappy can never keep within the bounds of saying but just enough.

His conversation threw me into a serious meditation upon the circumstances of doing and suffering wrong. And I could not but resolve in myself, that an unprovoked hardship done to another, with indifference, how it may affect his fortune and peace of mind, is much greater than if it was done with rage and resentment, arising from an offence given: this is still less excusable, and more mean in him who commits it, if he does it in subservience to the unjust anger of others. All these aggravations, I well know, attend the ill-usage done to a man who has given no provocation, but, at the hazard of his tranquillity and fortune, opposed all attempts of bringing the like misfortunes upon other men. But I will leave matters which might seem to excuse the utmost fury of resentment from the infirmity of human nature, and turn my thoughts to the consideration of anger. As the subduing of it is the greatest act, and highest capacity of the soul, it is an inexpressible

sible pleasure to me, that, while I am talking of this as a meer private man, and an humble Moralist, the Legislature of my country has it among their present deliberations, how to abate the haughtiness of man towards man, by a law against Dueling *. A work of this kind could be rendered effectual by no less authority, nor could it be begun, with hopes of success, but by a person of great weight and importance in the Assembly. Little misinterpretations, low prejudices, and idle railleries, would have stood in the way of a man of less moment, which vanish before an acknowledged character †. In this hopeful way is this great work; and it is no small consolation, that as we have from time to time imitated the follies of France, almost

* A Bill “to prevent the impious practice of Dueling, and for abolishing tryals by single combat,” was read the third time, and passed, in the House of Commons, on the 20th of April, 1720; but was rejected in the Upper House.

† The motion for bringing in the Bill was made by Sir Joseph Jekyll, on the 9th of March, on occasion of an unlucky accident which had happened the day before near Windsor. William Aldworth, Esq. one of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Taxes, being desirous to celebrate his birth-day, gave an entertainment to several Persons, amongst whom was Owen Buckingham, Esq. Member of Parliament for Reading, and one of the Commissioners of the Victualling-office, his intimate friend, and who was to have lain at his house that night: but, being both elevated with wine, some hot words arose between them; and being gone out of the house to fight in the dark, Mr. Buckingham received a mortal wound, and with his dying breath owned he had given the provocation.

to our ruin, there are now hopes of following that nation in the one thing wherein they excell us that is praise-wrothy.

If we consider the prodigious difference between the figure the same man bears in our imagination when we are pleased with him, from that wherein we behold him when we are angry, one may easily comprehend the injustice of this passion, and the merits in restraining it. This observation, which every body living has had one time or other an opportunity of making, cannot but endear the vigilance and care of our Lawgivers, in providing proper means to soften the dispositions of the heart, and render it less susceptible of offence, and more inclined to approbation, than is at present observable in the conversation of Gentlemen.

I can hardly conceive a more laudable act, than declaring an abhorrence of so fashionable a crime, which weakness, cowardice, and impatience of the reproach of fools, have brought upon reasonable men. This sort of behaviour cannot proceed but from a true and undaunted courage; and I cannot but have in great veneration a generous Youth, who in public declared his assent and concurrence to this law, by saying, that, in spite of the prevailing custom, "he triumphed more in being a second
"to prevent, than he should have been in being one to promote, murder." A speech thus ingenuous could come only from an heart that
scorned

scorned reserves, in compliance to falsehood, to do injury to truth.

This was true greatness of mind; and the man who did it could not possibly do it for his own sake, but must be conscious of a courage sufficient for his own defence, who could thus candidly, at his time of life, rescue other men from the necessity of bearing contempt, or doing an ill action. The mind usually exerts itself in all its faculties with an equal pace towards maturity; and this Gentleman, who at the age of sixteen could form such pleasant pictures of the false and little ambitions of low spirits as Mr. FULLER did, to whom, when a boy, we owe, with several other excellent pieces, "The Vain-glorious Glutton," when a secret Correspondent of "The TATLER;" I say, such a one might easily, as he proceeded in human life, arrive at this superior strength of mind at four-and-twenty. The soul that labours against prejudice and follows reason, ripens in her capacities, and grows in her talents, at the same time; as therefore courage is what a man attains by thought, as much as he improves his wit by study, it is only from want of opportunities to call the one or the other forth, and draw the respective qualities into habit, if ever a man of sense is a coward.

But miserable is society, wherein false pretenders to the one and the other of these qualities, by the force of a tyrant, Custom, are

allowed to obtrude themselves upon us, and by groundless anger set up for brave, as well as by quick misapprehension for witty.

I say, while this barbarous custom of Duelling is tolerated, we shall never be rid of coxcombs, who will defend their understanding by the sword, and force us to bear nonsense upon pain of death.

There seems to me no practicable and effectual method of eradicating this evil, but by making the practice as shameful as the basest felony. When we behold men, in contradiction to the strongest instinct, that of self-preservation, sacrifice their lives to keep themselves in countenance and fashion, it should lead us to lay the stress of our hopes of curing this evil upon the shame which shall hereafter attend the practice.

My Cavalier has attacked this iniquity in ten thousand shapes. His interview of a second, fresh-killed, with SOCRATES in the shades below *; his message to France, by PACOLET, in the character of BICKERSTAFFE †; and the application of SPINAMONT ‡ at the court of PHARAMOND, are all well-intended and reasonable lectures on the subject; but he, who will take upon him to advise or reprove, must look to it that he himself be unblameable; and there is an unanswerable exception against his

* TATLER, N° 26, *Notes*.

† *Ib.* N° 13, 14, 15.

‡ SPECTATOR, N° 184.

being

being a man of gallantry, which is the case of Mrs. MANLEY. He had the impatience to write something like satire in return to the liberties that ingenious lady took with him in certain of her writings. The anger of a woman, according to all rules of chivalry, is never to be returned, but abated by persuasion and submission. I look upon the secret effeminate malice, that men without names now practise against him, as a just judgement upon his unmanly conduct in contending with a woman. But I will atone for his crime in some measure, and signify to the Town, that her Tragedy of "Lucius" is now in rehearsal on the Stage, to be acted for her benefit *; and end this discourse with allusion to her former merit towards him, or his towards her, and the resentments thereupon, with a distich of an old English Author:

"When 'tis Desert offends, 'tis never spar'd;

" 'Tis easier to revenge, than to reward."

* See her very handsome acknowledgement in STEELE'S "Epistolary Correspondence," ed. 1787. vol. II. p. 455. The Prologue is printed in THEATRE, N° 10, p. 84.

N^o 27. SATURDAY, *April 2, 1720.*

‘ Here, with like haste, though different ways, they
‘ run,

‘ Some to undo, and some to be undone.’

DENHAM, Cooper’s Hill.

THE hurry of the Town will be a little abated, if all who understand the Rule of Three would please to consider the following calculations. I shall make no other remark upon them, than that the creditors of the Government, who shall subscribe to the SOUTH SEA, have as great pretence to the favour of the Government, as the SOUTH SEA Undertakers; for it will appear, that what the SOUTH SEA give and get, the new Subscribers must lose.

Several Calculations of the Value of South Sea Stock, built on the Proposals made to the Government by the Company.

FIRST CALCULATION.

	l.	s.	d.
Suppose the <i>South Sea</i> capital	12,000,000	00	00
			That

That the redeemables be all paid off	}	15,924,218	12	10½
Then will the capital amount to		27,924,218	12	10½
To be given to the Go- vernment by the Com- pany	}	4,667,705	8	1
So that 27,924,218 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> ½ capital stock will cost the Company		32,951,924	0	11½

which is, for 100*l.* *South Sea* stock, bringing five per cent. 116*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.* ½; for as 27,924,218*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* ½ is to 100*l.* so is 32,691,924*l.* 0*s.* 11*d.* to 116*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.* ½.

SECOND CALCULATION.

Suppose the *South Sea* Company pay off the redeemables, and sell 100*l.* *South Sea* for 200*l.* then half the quantity of *South Sea* will pay for all the redeemables: which done; the account will stand thus:

The capital of the pre- sent stock as before	}	12,000,000	00	00
The addition of half the redeemables		7,962,109	6	5
Given to the Govern- ment as before	}	4,667,705	8	1

The sum total of the }
South Sea, with the }
 other half of the re- }
 deemables that re- }
 mained being added to } 24,629,814 14 6
 it, will stand as be- }
 fore; that is to say, }
 27,924,218*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* }
 $\frac{1}{2}$, which will then cost }
 the Company but }

Whence it will follow, as 24,629,814*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*
 is to 27,924,218*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* so 100*l.* former
South Sea stock is, with the gained or acquired,
 to 113*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* near.

THIRD CALCULATION.

Suppose, when the *South Sea* has paid off the
 redeemables, they sell the *South Sea* stock at
 300*l.* for 100*l.* *South Sea*, then the account will
 stand thus :

The present capital, as } before	12,000,000 00 00
One third of the re- } deemables converted } to <i>South Sea</i> is	5,308,062 17 9
Given the Government, } as before	4,667,705 10 8 1
	<hr/>

The other two-thirds of the redeemables being added to the <i>South</i> <i>Sea</i> stock, will be as above; 27,924,218 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$ which then costs the Company	}	21,975,768 8 10
---	---	-----------------------

whence it will follow, as 21,975,768*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* is to 27,924,218*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* 10 is 100*l.* present *South Sea* to 127*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$, present and acquired.

In this view it appears whence the Company pretend to be able to raise their profit; to wit, by the sale of one hundred pound *South Sea* stock to purchase three hundred pounds of the redeemables; by which means, if one third of their capital stock will purchase the whole of the redeemables, and if afterwards they should be able to sell the remaining two thirds at thrice the price with which they bought them, then will the Directors of this Company have under their direction almost thirty-two millions of money, besides a remaining twenty-eight millions of capital stock; with which if any body of men are to be trusted, they will be much better and honest trustees, than any others in the world, except those who shall repose their trust in them.

These

These considerations would be much stronger against the Company in the purchase of the irredeemables, since it appears, that it is not for the interest of even the redeemables to come into their project at par, they being to bear the greater share of the 4,667,705*l.* which they agree to advance to the Government. There is mighty expectation from the large dividends the Company will make; some say 12, some 15, and some 20 *per cent.* the last of which it would be vanity to expect, the sinking fund and interest from the Government not being, at first sight, sufficient to support it. But they may perhaps, to encourage the proprietors of the redeemables, pay, for a time, 15 *per cent.* I shall therefore consider in what time 10*l.* 12*l.* and 15*l.* *per annum* dividend will pay the whole; and explain this to the meanest capacity, to prevent men's ruin through ignorance, and a false hope of profit. Every one knows the Company has agreed to accept of five *per cent.* till the year 1727; after which they are to have but four *per cent.* till the capital is paid.

* * * This afternoon will be published, "The State of the Case between the Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household, and the Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians. With the Patent, and Opinions of Pemberton, Northey, and Parker, concerning the Theatre. By Sir RICHARD STEELE." To be had at the same places with this Paper. Price 6*d.* Orig. Theatre, March 29. A second Edition came out in a few days.

Three CALCULATIONS, shewing in what time, and what produce will be reaped from 100*l.* *South Sea* stock, on the several dividends of 10, 12, and 15 *per cent. per ann.* at the rate of five *per cent.* for seven years, and four *per cent.* after, till all is paid.

At 10 *per cent.* dividend.

The principal put out	—	100	0	0
Interest for the first year	—	5	0	0
		<hr/>		
Principal and interest amount to		105	0	0
First year's dividend	—	10	0	0
		<hr/>		
Remains	— — —	95	0	0
Interest for the second year	—	4	15	0
		<hr/>		
Principal and interest amount to		99	15	0
Second year's dividend	—	10	0	0
		<hr/>		
Remains	— — —	89	15	0
Interest for the third year	—	4	9	9
		<hr/>		
Principal and interest amount to		94	4	9
Third year's dividend	—	10	0	0
		<hr/>		
Remains	— — —	84	4	9
Interest for the fourth year	—	4	4	$2\frac{3}{4}$
		<hr/>		
Principal and interest amount to		88	8	$11\frac{3}{4}$
Fourth year's dividend	—	10	0	0
		<hr/>		
		Remains		

Remains	—————	78	8	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Interest for the fifth year	—	3	18	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
		<hr/>		
Principal and interest amount to		82	7	5
Fifth year's dividend	—	10	0	0
		<hr/>		
Remains	—————	72	7	5
Interest for the sixth year	—	3	12	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
		<hr/>		
Principal and interest amount to		75	19	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sixth year's dividend	—	10	0	0
		<hr/>		
Remains	—————	65	19	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Interest for the seventh year	—	3	5	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
		<hr/>		
Principal and interest amount to		69	5	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Seventh year's dividend	—	10	0	0
		<hr/>		
Remains	—————	59	5	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
The interest for the eighth year, at four <i>per cent</i> ,	—	2	7	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
		<hr/>		
Principal and interest amount to		61	13	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Eighth year's dividend	—	10	0	0
		<hr/>		
Remains	—————	51	13	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Interest for the ninth year	—	2	1	4
		<hr/>		
Principal and interest amount to		53	14	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ninth year's dividend	—	10	0	0
		<hr/>		
Remains	—————	43	14	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Interest for the tenth year	—	1	14	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
		<hr/>		

Prin=

Principal and interest	—	45	9	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Tenth year's dividend	—	10	0	0

Remains	—	35	9	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Interest for the eleventh year		1	8	4 $\frac{3}{4}$

Principal and interest amount to		36	17	11
Eleventh year's dividend	—	10	0	0

Remains	—	26	17	11
Interest for the twelfth year	—	1	1	6 $\frac{3}{4}$

Principal and interest amount to		27	19	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Twelfth year's dividend	—	10	0	0

Remains	—	17	19	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Interest for the thirteenth year		0	14	4 $\frac{3}{4}$

Principal and interest amount to		18	13	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Thirteenth year's dividend	—	10	0	0

Remains	—	8	13	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Interest for the fourteenth year		0	6	11 $\frac{3}{4}$

Principal and interest amount to		9	0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Fourteenth year's dividend all paid off.				

At 12 per cent. dividend.

The principal put out	—	100	0	0
Interest for the first year	—	5	0	0

Principal and interest amount to		105	0	0
First year's dividend	—	12	0	0

Remains

Remains	93	0	0
Interest for the second year	4	13	0
<hr/>			
Principal and interest amount to	97	13	0
Second year's dividend	12	0	0
<hr/>			
Remains	85	13	0
Interest for the third year	4	5	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
<hr/>			
Principal and interest amount to	89	18	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Third year's dividend	12	0	0
<hr/>			
Remains	77	18	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Interest for the fourth year	3	17	11
<hr/>			
Principal and interest amount to	81	16	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
Fourth year's dividend	12	0	0
<hr/>			
Remains	69	16	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
Interest for the fifth year	3	9	10
<hr/>			
Principal and interest amount to	73	6	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Fifth year's dividend	12	0	0
<hr/>			
Remains	61	6	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Interest for the sixth year	3	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
<hr/>			
Principal and interest amount to	64	7	9
Sixth year's dividend	12	0	0
<hr/>			
Remains	52	7	9
Interest for the seventh year	2	12	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
<hr/>			
			Prin-

Principal and interest amount to	55	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Seventh year's dividend	12	0	0

Remains	43	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Interest for the eighth year, at four <i>per cent.</i>	1	14	4 $\frac{3}{4}$

Principal and interest amount to	44	14	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Eighth year's dividend	12	0	0

Remains	32	14	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Interest for the ninth year	1	6	2

Principal and interest amount to	34	0	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ninth year's dividend	12	0	0

Remains	22	0	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Interest for the tenth year	0	17	7 $\frac{1}{4}$

Principal and interest amount to	22	18	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Tenth year's dividend	12	0	0

Remains	10	18	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Interest for the eleventh year	0	8	8 $\frac{3}{4}$

Principal and interest amount to	11	7	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
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At 15 *per cent.* dividend.

The principal put out	100	0	0
Interest for the first year	5	0	0

Prin-

Principal and interest amount to	105	0	0
First year's dividend	15	0	0
<hr/>			
Remains	90	0	0
Interest for the second year	4	10	0
<hr/>			
Principal and interest amount to	94	10	0
Second year's dividend	15	0	0
<hr/>			
Remains	79	10	0
Interest for the third year	3	19	6
<hr/>			
Principal and interest amount to	83	9	0
Third year's dividend	15	0	0
<hr/>			
Remains	68	9	6
Interest for the fourth year	3	8	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
<hr/>			
Principal and interest amount to	71	17	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Fourth year's dividend	15	0	0
<hr/>			
Remains	56	17	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Interest for the fifth year	2	16	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
<hr/>			
Principal and interest amount to	59	14	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Fifth year's dividend	15	0	0
<hr/>			
Remains	44	14	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Interest for the sixth year	2	4	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
<hr/>			
Principal and interest amount to	46	19	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Sixth year's dividend	15	0	0
<hr/>			
			Remains

Remains	—————	—————	31	19	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Interest for the seventh year	—	—	1	11	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
			<hr/>		
Principal and interest amount to			33	11	7
Seventh year's dividend	—	—	15	0	0
			<hr/>		
Remains	—————	—————	18	11	7
Interest for the eighth year, at four <i>per cent.</i>			0	14	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
			<hr/>		
Principal and interest amount to			19	6	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Eighth year's dividend	—	—	15	0	0
			<hr/>		
Remains	—————	—————	4	6	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Interest for the ninth year	—	—	0	1	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
			<hr/>		
At the end of eight years four months			4	7	7
			<hr/>		

Thus it is demonstrated, that }
 10*l. per ann.* will, in fourteen }
 years, pay principal and interest, } 139 0 9
 the total of which amounts to }
 no more than }

That 12*l. per ann.* will do }
 the same in eleven years, and } 131 0 7 $\frac{3}{4}$
 amounts to no more than }

That 15*l. per ann.* will do }
 the same in eight years and } 124 7 6
 one-third, and amounts to no }
 more than }

For the truth of all these Calculations, I appeal to every 'Prentice-boy.

Occupet extremum scabies.

'MURRAIN take the hindmost.' April 1, 1720.

P

N^o 28.

N° 28. TUESDAY, *April 5, 1720.*

By Sir RICHARD STEELE.

— *Ludicra pono.*

HOR. I Ep. i. 10.

‘ Adieu to trifles.’

DUNCOMBE.

THIS Paper was first undertaken to avert a clamour at that time industriously raised against the Stage; and clamour I then thought the only instrument which could be used to give me any effectual disturbance in the Government of it, which I possessed by as ample an authority as the King's Letters Patents under the Great Seal could bestow. But I have been dispossessed of that franchise in the manner which I have set forth in a little Pamphlet, intituled, “The State of the Case between the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, and the Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians*.” It is therefore now too late to arm myself against noise and insolence, by gradual insinuations concerning the management and usefulness of a Theatre †, and by that means

* See p. 202.

† See STEELE's ideas on this head, p. 214, *note.*

to engage the Town in the interest of it; I say, it is ridiculous to busy myself this way any longer, when what I hoped to defend by it is out of my possession. I began the work, as the only means I had of making the world acquainted with the true state of that affair; and as I knew I should be assaulted in every circumstance of life wherein I had any thing to do with the publick, I took for my defence the only method a friendless man could, to wit, a method of shewing that my case was that of every subject in these dominions. My powerful unprovoked Adversaries wanted wit enough in their anger to reflect, that a generous people have always a concern for the oppressed, and detestation of oppressors. They are in that fortune which makes men giddy and blind; but I am in that which makes men wary and circumspect. I have made such use of my adversity, as to avoid, I hope, being insolent in the advantage I have had of being unjustly persecuted; nor have I attempted to raise indignation against those who have laboured my ruin. I have been contented to say no more than what was absolutely necessary for my justification, without returning rage for rage. But, as great as my sufferings have been, I find there are, even among impartial Readers, those who think I have treated a Great Man with too much freedom and familiarity in the State of our Case; but I hope Gentlemen will consider, that only to omit ceremony and com-

plaisance is a very gentle return for violence and oppression; at the same time I take the liberty to assert, that I know no such disparity between man and man, much less between a Nobleman and a Gentleman, as that one shall take away the other's substance, and the injured person be thought inexcusable, if he abates in his civilities towards him, especially when he is desired to forbear them.

But there is I know not what prepossession in men's minds, that will not give them leave to consider this matter, because it is conversant in Plays, with that attention and fellow-feeling with which they would regard any other cause of complaint. They put me in mind of VALENTINE in Mr. CONGREVE'S Comedy, who makes a very humorous lecture upon a doubt, whether his man has not, the same organs, for the supply of the appetites of hunger and thirst, with which a Gentleman, of an estate and means to supply himself with food, is furnished. Any one that has seen Mr. PENKETHMAN perform the part of the Uncle in "The Fop's Fortune" has beheld him eat two chickens in three seconds, and has conviction, that persons who are supported by the Stage live by the same laws of nature, and are no more exempted from the necessity of being fed than other men.

If this be allowed, let me be never so merry, or ever so addicted to excite mirth in others,
there

there may be hours wherein I am not in good-humour; and the being exposed to the terrors and disgraces of worldly want, by an arbitrary seizure of my fortune, will appear a matter as grievous to me as to another gentleman.

All the world knows, that further attempts against me have been made, as if in concert to undo me utterly; and that, since the beginning of this winter, I have been attacked in more than in that one circumstance. My Adversaries have descended likewise to the poorest and meanest examinations into my little, private affairs. But, I thank God, the removal of their cruelty would remove such wants; but *their* wants can be supplied by no less a power than His who can give men honesty.

I do not name any body whom I do not take to be honest; but, if some men I could name are so, Honesty is their mistress; and they are so in love with her, that they are ready to knock out every man's brains who pretends to her, but themselves.

As for me, the sum of all against me is, that from living in an intimacy with the greatest persons who have acted on the British World and Stage for many years together, I am suspected of a capacity of distinguishing Physicians from Mountebanks, and Actors from Mimicks; and though I do not laugh so often as I am provoked to it, they think I am merry in my heart upon many ridiculous things I see done

with gravity and pomp; and therefore I ought not to live.

But this rhapsody is the last of the kind, and I must make some apology for the Work. I told you, I began it to defend my territories; and I lay it down, because they are surrendered. As to the performance itself, what the Writers of the age will think of it, I cannot say; but I desire any man, who judges of it, to consider it as it is, not the product of a mind at ease, but written by a man neither out of pain in body or mind, yet forced to suspend the anguish of both; with the addition of powerful men soliciting my ruin, sly looks from my acquaintance, surly behaviour from my domesticks, with all the train of private and public calamity, and that for no other reason but pursuing what he thought just; and then let him say to himself, whether he could carry his gaiety much further than I have.

I have, I hope, prevailed enough to be fairly read on the subject; and, now I have done, I beseech those who think themselves concerned, to bring me in what way they please under examination.

It is, I think, incumbent upon me to shew that I was not wholly negligent; but, as far as greater duties would give me leave, writ for the Stage, in order to introduce agreeable characters in opposition to the false customs and habits which have prevailed amongst us*.

* STEELE'S observations on his own Patent are worth transcription. "This Patent, Madam, is the Law of the Theatre;

To manifest further the injury done me by robbing me of the means of bringing on my own performances in an advantageous manner, I shall forthwith print a new Comedy called Sir JOHN EDGAR *; and hope proper allowances

Theatre; and, by the rule of it, we are to expect nothing new shall hereafter come upon the Stage that may in the least offend decency or good-manners. The indulgence at present given to what is represented there is a sufferance which, it is to be hoped, will be made up to the audience in future Plays. If every thing that shall not be represented is not virtuous, let it at least be innocent. This will bring a new Audience to the House; and it is from the hope of entertaining those who at present are terrified at the Theatre, that the Sharers must hope for their success hereafter. This will naturally have the desired effect; and Folly will be ridiculous without being, at the same time, so mixed with Vice, as to make it also terrible. The daughter may be agreeable and blooming, though the mother is at the same time discreet, careful, and anxious for her conduct. No necessary imperfections, such as old age and misfortune, shall be the objects of derision and buffoonry. The fine gentleman is not absolutely obliged to wrong his friend in the most unpardonable instance, that of his bed; nor is the fine lady of course to like him best who lavishes his youth among the abandoned of her sex. But it is to be hoped, that men of wit and genius will be prevailed upon to write for the stage (the most ready occasion for recommending themselves to the world), who will scorn to be beholden to men's appetites and desires for their applause, but will venture to stand or fall, according as they please well-informed judgement, and promote well-directed passion." TOWN-TALK, N^o VI.

* "Though Sir R. STEELE is not permitted to act his Play, yet he is resolved to entertain us every way he can; and his favourite, Sir JOHN EDGAR, will be preferred very quickly; if while I am in London, I will

ances will be made; and due consideration had, that a Play is not designed so much for the Reader as the Spectator.

I shall not whine longer about the hardships I have suffered *, but advertise my friends, and others, that since a late judgement in my favour, concerning a certain ridiculed invention †, I want nothing but that men will support a design of mine, by which they may divide above ten *per cent.* six times a year, to be in possession of a much greater income than any man living has merit enough to deserve. Thus I take my leave, and beg pardon that I am reduced to the necessity of fixing my thoughts to the amendment of my fortune, and shewing my fellow-subjects, that the choice of me, for the man of all the world to be oppressed, was something injudicious.

“ take care to send it; if not, KNAPTON shall have orders “ to do it.” Dr. RUNDLE to Mrs. SANDYS, in April or May, 1720.

* See above, p. 62, *note.*

† This judgement was perhaps the King's Patent, for his *new Scheme*, the FISH POOL; and that Patent seems to have been obtained, not by money as is now usual, but by the interest of some *Great Men*. See STEELE's “ Epistolary Correspondence,” May 22, 1717, and *note*; and this interpretation is confirmed by THEATRE, N° VIII. p. 70. It seems likewise probable, that the sum he received from the Treasury by the hands of Mr. WELSTED was given him on that occasion, and nominally for this piece, though in fact for “ The Crisis,” &c.

THE

A N T I - T H E A T R E .

By Sir JOHN FALSTAFFE*.

 N° I. MONDAY, *February 15, 1719-20.*

..... No temptation shall make me break-in upon the rules of civility and good-manners, or intrude upon the private concerns of life. Sir JOHN has been too barbarously treated this way already †.

* Printed for W. Boreham, at the Angel in Pater-noster Row. To be continued every Monday and Thursday; Price 2d.

† This generous sentence, which is quoted in the THEATRE, N° 14, is all that we have yet been able to recover of the First Number of the ANTI-THEATRE.

N° 2.

N^o 2. THURSDAY, *February 18, 1719-20.*

Scribimus indocti doctique Poemata passim.

HOR. 2 Ep. i. 117.

‘ ———Every desperate blockhead dares to write ;
 ‘ Verse is the trade of every living wight.’

FRANCIS.

Hydrops, Nicticorax, Thorax & mascula Vervex.

PROPRIA QUÆ MARIBUS.

MY Cousin SLENDER (who is as much my familiar as the INJURED KNIGHT is to Sir JOHN EDGAR) came with great alacrity last night to my lodgings, to inform me that Sir JOHN had accepted my challenge ; but seemed to cry for quarter, by putting me in mind so soon of the preliminaries which I had settled in my first Paper : these however religiously I am resolved to observe, he must not expect that, like HAMLET and LAERTES, we are “ frankly “ to play a Brother’s wager.” If, in the generosity of his heart, he gives me a fair commendation, I shall not be afraid to acknowledge him honourable ; but, if he thinks to undermine me with praise, he mistakes his man ; for I must not have my honour suffer under the suspicion of “ fighting a cheat ;” which the spectators

spectators will certainly conclude, if I do not *hit* him when he *lies open*.

As I have assumed the province, and, I hope, not usurped it, of regulating WIT and POETRY, I must not, by virtue of that office, permit *indigested* pieces to pass on the Town, and insensibly promote a *false taste*. It is one established rule with me, that *good writing* should never be purposely *obscure* or *pompous*. Nothing gives me more offence than the use of hard words, when there are easy, plain, and familiar ones to be had as cheap, useful, and current. When a common term will not fully express the *idea*, it is allowable to look abroad, and import from a foreign language a phrase that answers more directly to the notion of the Writer: but to be continually pouring upon the Reader a flood of difficult expressions, both makes the sense muddy, and offends the ear; and is against all the rules of *polite Writing*, unless when they are applied on purpose to *expose* the *Speaker*. Thus SHAKSPEARE, I remember, in a Play where he introduces my ever-honoured predecessor, Sir JOHN the First, makes PISTOL and BARDOLFE talk most furious nonsense in *sounding bombast*; but, when the *Man of Wit* appears, he is contented with the *coinage* and *fashion* of the age.

This observation calls to my mind a story, which has more than once made me laugh in conversation. A certain Author of some quality,
who

who shall be nameless, wrote a treatise, and communicated it to a friend for his perusal. The author some time after meeting his friend, enquired, “Whether he had read his book, and how he liked it?”—“Like it?” says the other, “I should like it well enough, if I could but understand your beginning.”—“Why, how do I begin?” replies the author briskly. “Intellectual Complexions, as they are *compounded*”—says his friend again. “Now, pray what do you mean by Intellectual Complexions?” The author, with some hesitation, was preparing to explain them, but at last candidly confessed, “That he really did not well know how to make them intelligible; but that, however, he thought them very good words to begin with.”

To make my application to this story (though I might take the liberty of telling a story nothing at all to the purpose), I have observed an obscurity in Sir JOHN EDGAR’S style, which makes too many of his periods unintelligible; and he so often affects hard words, where they add no grace or strength to his sentence, that he seems to have a respect to the *sound* of his terms, without considering what *ideas* to affix to them.

I would advise him to reflect, however favourable Sir JOHN FALSTAFFE may be in his censures, every generation has overflowed with some *ill-nature*; and the four LONGINUS of the present

present times * is a proof that this quality is not extinct.

Were a Critick of this morose stamp to start up in posterity, who knows but he might examine the style and writings of Sir JOHN EDGAR, and, by comparing them with those of his supposed contemporaries, assert, that their date may happen as justly to be controverted, as the chronology of any one circumstance in fabulous history? If I can force myself into the rancour of such an antagonist, I will give Sir JOHN a specimen of the manners in which he may be treated by one furnished with more spleen than candour of judgement.

Thus, perhaps, might the declaimer triumph.
 “ To use the arguments and words of an Au-
 “ thor, who had the happiness both to live in
 “ Sir JOHN EDGAR’s time, and write his lan-
 “ guage, he seems to have forgot that the
 “ scene of his Writings was London, where the
 “ English tongue is generally spoken and writ-
 “ ten: how comes it to pass, that Sir JOHN
 “ EDGAR writes not in English, but in a lan-
 “ guage farther removed from the true English
 “ idiom, than the Doric Greek was from the
 “ Attic? Why does he, being an Englishman,
 “ write a new language, which no Englishman
 “ before ever wrote or spoke? How comes his
 “ speech neither to be that of the learned, nor
 “ that of the country; but a mixed party-

* JOHN DENNIS.

“ coloured

“ *coloured* dialect, formed out of both ? There
 “ is no Englishman but thinks himself able,
 “ from the turn and fashion of the style, to
 “ distinguish the age of a composition. Now,
 “ when we compare Sir JOHN EDGAR’s differ-
 “ tations with the writings of Dr. SWIFT, Mr.
 “ ADDISON, Mr. CONGREVE, and others, who
 “ flourished in his period, we find the style of
 “ that age had quite a different turn and fashion
 “ from that of our dissertator. In one of his
 “ Papers, he makes use of the terms *more*
 “ *carnivorous*, for which his contemporaries
 “ would have said, *greater eaters of flesh*; in
 “ another *soft and salutiferous*, for which they
 “ would have said, *soft and wholesome*, or, *con-*
 “ *tributing to the health*; in another, the *præ-*
 “ *position of the adjective*, for which they would
 “ have said, *the putting the adjective before*;
 “ with many others of the same strain. Nor
 “ is he more correct in his connections, and
 “ the turns of his sense: *I would not*, says
 “ he, *injure the meanest door-keeper of the Play-*
 “ *house, to be so myself*; that is, *to be a door-*
 “ *keeper myself*; whereas, he means, he *would*
 “ *not be the greatest man in Europe*. He like-
 “ wise talks of his *cogitations ending in an in-*
 “ *vention*, a phrase in which no polite Writer
 “ will ever follow him.”

Thus, I say, Sir JOHN may be treated by ill-
 nature; and much worse usage must less ex-
 periented Writers expect. When *poetasters* and
little criticks are troubled with this *status* in
 their

their compositions, their best friends should take care to have the noxious quality dispelled by proper methods. The consideration of such a *swelling* style naturally brings to my thought BEN JONSON's "Crispinus," of whose Poetry I must give the Reader a short taste :

- ' No, teach thy Incubus to poetize,
- ' And throw abroad thy spurious snotteries
- ' Upon that puft-up lump of barmy froth,
- ' Or clumsy chill-blain'd judgement; that with oath
- ' Magnificates his merit; and bespawls
- ' The conscious Time with humorous foam, and
- ' brawls,
- ' As if his organons of sense would crack
- ' The finews of my patience. Break his back,
- ' O Poets all and some : for now we list
- ' Of strenuous vengeance to clutch the fist.'

In short, this essay of his Muse seemed so preposterous, that the wisdom of AUGUSTUS's Court ordered the Poet a strong *emetic*, which discharged his stomach of a large quantity of *rumbling sounds*; and they took care for a time to have him locked up in the dark, and removed from company, lest he should talk too idly after his physick.

N^o 3. MONDAY, *February 22, 1719-20.*

*Tu, quid ego, & populus mecum desideret, audi.
Si plausoris eges aulae manentis, & usque
Sessuri donec cantor, Vos plaudite, dicat.*

HOR. De Art. Poet. ver. 133.

- ' You who attempt to entertain the Pit,
- ' Hear what the People will with me expect;
- ' If you would have th' applauding Audience stay
- ' From the beginning till the curtain falls.'

DUNCOMBE.

MY antagonist, Sir JOHN EDGAR, in his Paper of Tuesday last, has an expression concerning me, which carries with it a mixture of compliment and sneer. The words are these: "This Author has good blood in him, though not derived from Sir JOHN FALSTAFFE.—" This reflexion seems to look asquint on the reputation of my honoured mother, of unspotted memory; but where there is no temptation, there is seldom any vice; and can any man of common sense imagine, that a dwarfish Courtier could ever graft upon the venerable and goodly stock of the FALSTAFFES? SHAKSPEARE himself did not venture so far in making a fine Venetian love a Moor; in which I am bold to say, there is less difference in taste, than in making

making a vicious compliance between the female part of our family, and the little generation of the last two hundred years, men of gallantry.

My descent was never disputed, and it is in right of that I take upon me to supervise the British Stage; therefore I must tell the world, that I look upon all Patents which have been granted either to Knights or private Gentlemen, as Governors of the Theatres, to be obtained by deception; entertainments of that kind depending so much on a change of persons and interests, as to make resumptions sometimes necessary, and prudent too, in the compass of a few years.

The proof of this I shall put off to another occasion; in the mean time I shall take notice of Sir JOHN EDGAR's conduct, who departing from the designs of his Paper, which I conceive should be to recommend Theatrical Diversions, by shewing their antiquity, their use, the reverence they were held in, and their benefit to Commonwealths, has confined himself, in an humble manner, to make court to a private circle of his own acquaintance. But as every action bears two faces, I shall put the best upon this condescending humour of his; I will find out some other name for it than flattery: I am willing to think what he said of them flowed from a good heart; therefore I think it will not be amiss if I should call it generosity, good-will, or charity. It is observed,

Q

that

that persons whose souls are made up of tenderness and compassion, cannot forbear throwing out these virtues when they meet with miserable objects; and Sir JOHN, in being so liberal of his praise to Dramatic Favourites, has shewn the overflowings of his charity, because all mankind agree that he has given them nothing but what they wanted.

I had a design in this Paper, in imitation of him, to praise some things that never were praised before; and to shew them in a light very different from what they appear in at present. In consequence of this, I should have commended the great humility of those who are not dissatisfied with a bad name; I should likewise have ridiculed the vanity of doing good actions; and, by this way of proceeding, take an opportunity of hooking into my praises some of whom Sir JOHN is pleased to speak in the following manner:

“ I shall not make my entry with too loud
“ a voice, but keep within the compass of it,
“ when I prefer the present British Stage to any
“ now in Europe; nor shall I fear, in my fol-
“ lowing discourses, to aver, that it will not
“ be the fault of the persons concerned in it,
“ if it does not arrive to as great perfection as
“ was ever known in Greece or Rome”

I shall give a short historical sketch of the ancient Stages in this Paper; and hereafter, when I come to speak of our own, the Reader will

will be able to judge, what vast improvement it has made under the present management.

It was the opinion of the Ancients, that they could do nothing more advantageous for their own honour, or the happiness of the people, than to settle and maintain public spectacles, games, and other diversions, in the greatest magnificence their Commonwealths could afford, judging them to be of consequence to the political part of the Government; for the cares and anxieties of life being sweetened by inoffensive pleasures, pass away without regret; and when discontents have run high amongst the people, those who have gone grumbling to the Theatre have returned in a temper of mind very different, and in the wit and humour of the scene, lost all thoughts of doing mischief to the publick.

The philosophy of the Greeks, and the majesty and wisdom of the Romans, were equally concerned in Theatrical Representations; and the same persons who governed the Commonwealth, supervised the Stage; it is no wonder then, if they were venerable, noble, and magnificent. Venerable they were, by being dedicated to some of their gods; noble by being under the direction of their magistrates; and magnificent because the expence was allowed out of the public treasure. In these days, the profession of a player was not infamous; the Magistrates who directed the Stage, took care to chuse persons whose lives and morals should

not give offence to their fellow-citizens. If any one had become a debauchée, or blasphemed the gods, he would not only have been expelled the Stage, but been banished his country. A common frailty was looked upon as a crime of a high nature in an actor, and to reflect upon the illustrious person who chose him. It was thought an absurd thing to suppose, that lessons of morality could have any effect when they came from the mouths of profligates. While they kept up to their first chastity of manners, they were both cherished and esteemed; and the Dramatic Writers thought it no disgrace to act parts among them in their own Plays, though some of them were Generals of Armies, and had other the most noble employments of the State.

In the licentious reigns of some of the Roman Emperors, they began to grow scandalous; the Magistrates no longer presiding over them, and being left to their own wild government, they fell into the lowest acts of infamy, and of course into the lowest contempt; their women became a perfect merchandize, with bills of sale on them, in proportion to their charms or youth; and their actors, merchants; and the purchasers usually applied to them for their contract. To this purpose, I remember a story of a certain Plebeian, who, having a mind for one of the Ladies of the Drama, for want of a personal acquaintance with her, employed a male administrator of the same troop. The
pandar

pandar did his business very faithfully; but, soon after, the Plebeian, repenting the vast sums he had lavished upon this industrious couple, would fain have had some of it back, but the Courtezan was very tenacious; therefore he summoned her before certain Magistrates appointed to hear causes, where, to make the thing sure on her side, the officious pandar appeared, and in public court declared, that the money was given upon certain private articles, which were performed on CLEOPATRA's side. When they grew so bold in vice, it is no wonder they were branded with shame, which was the only way to terrify young persons from running into the company of such as were unfit for the society of honest men. But it is observed, that, whenever they mended their morals, they mended their reputations; and I dare affirm, that our Stage will not want an advocate, if the Actors do but deserve one.

But these reflexions have drawn me aside from my subject, which is, to rescue the Stage from the disgrace that certain Players have brought upon it.

The Ancient Fathers did not only forbid Christians to act as Stage-players, but also to appear at Plays as Spectators. The reason was, the Theatres of old were dedicated to the Heathen Gods; and many obscene things being represented in worship to these deities, it could have been no less than idolatry in Christians to assist at them; but, after the establishment of

Christianity, the Theatres were frequented without scandal; and the cause of the prohibition ceasing, the injunction ceased of course. To come down to later times, the great Cardinal Richelieu, who had the affairs of a mighty kingdom upon his hands, did not think it unworthy his character to govern the Stage: the good effects of which were soon found; for it had been sinking ever since the ruins of Rome and Athens, but now it began to revive with fresh beauty. The greatest wits and most excellent artists of the age were set to work to adorn it; all obscenity and profaneness were banished; and thus its inward and outward excellence rose together.

We, no doubt, might arrive at the same perfection, were we under the same regulation; but the misfortune is, we give the power too much out of our own hands, and then expect it back, when it is hard to struggle for it against new acquirements from the first unnecessary concession. We make idols with the wild notion of the man in the fable, thinking to fling them into the fire at our pleasure; but the idolatry once practised, we ourselves are slaves, and new incense must be daily offered. Our mimick Goddeffes and Queens will be as peevish as ever Heathen fancied his real ones. They who lend fame, lend it not to a single person, but diffuse it to many; and though the lender would resume his first grant, it is passed away to

to others by his means, who will not easily part with it.

A controuling power over the Stage therefore is absolutely necessary; and then public diversions will not depend on the humour or caprice of those within, but on real judges without the walls of the Theatre.

N^o 4. THURSDAY, February 25, 1719-20.

Est etiam in quibusdam turba inanium verborum, qui, dum communem loquendi morem reformidant, aucti specie nitoris, circumeunt omnia copiosa loquacitate quæ dicere volunt: ipsam denique illam seriem cum aliâ simili jungentes, miscentesque, ultrâ quam ullus spiritus durare possit, extendunt. QUINTIL.

Some likewise are so verbose, and have so much fear of speaking familiarly, and so much affectation of writing elegantly, that they involve every thought they attempt to express in such a crowd of uselefs and intricate terms, that all the spirit is wholly lost in the verbosity.

“I WAS this morning ruminating*,” as Sir JOHN EDGAR says, upon what principles a man must be supposed to act, when he forbears to defend himself in points where, no doubt, he thinks himself in the right, and upon which the world may, perhaps, expect his justification. There are but three reasons

* The THEATRE, N^o XVI. began with these words.

which I can form to myself for his silence on such an occasion; either a tacit confession of the matters charged, a magisterial contempt of the person charging, or a private fear of running deeper into a controversy than he knows fairly how to wade through.

I shall not pretend at present to determine upon which of these motives he proceeds; but I must take the liberty to observe, with some surprize, that my Antagonist, who accepted my challenge with so much seeming gallantry, is fallen-off from his courage since the swords are out; and, instead of standing on his guard, like a valiant Knight, and returning his opponent blow for blow, traverses the Stage, retires whenever I press him, and reduces me to a necessity either of pursuing him, or giving over my attack. If I have given him a slight wound, far be it from me to insult upon the poor advantage: should I triumph in the conquest of a defenceless enemy, I must draw upon myself the ridicule of all men of true valour, since it is a maxim, that there can be no victory where there is no danger. I remember a merry story of a Braggadocio, who, boasting his services in a late action, told his fellow-soldiers, that with his own hands he had disabled one of the enemy, by cutting off his arm: they replied, they should have thought it had been better service, if he had cut off his head. "Oh!" says our boaster, with some humour, "that

“ that I should have done, but his head was
“ cut off before.”

Though my honoured predecessor was as much given to *bragging* as this honest soldier, I shall not imitate him so far, as to make a close application of this story to Sir JOHN EDGAR and myself. I do not at all dispute his having a *Head*; but his Writings are of that magic quality, that, like GYGES's ring, they make it invisible.

I shall not be afraid to maintain, in the course of these Papers, that there are a great many handsome figures in life, observable for speech, motion, gesture, and compleat form, with proper ornaments of velvet, lace, and long wigs, and something fixed where the *Head* should be, which, though it looks to us like a real *Head*, is only such from a *Deceptio visus*; for, invention, wit, and reflection, being faculties peculiar to that part, where these are wanting we can at best but call it a *Caput inortuum*. And it is for this reason, when we hear a story without wit or spirit, we say, by allusion, it is a story without any *Head*. What I here advance concerning human *Heads* would fully appear, were the Government reduced to impose a Poll-tax; which would fall too unequally on the subject, since a number of our pretty fellows, who make such a figure, and boast the external semblances of *Heads*, could not easily be charged with any share in this subsidy. Therefore, if ever this affair comes upon the
car-

carpet, I should humbly offer my advice, for the benefit of the publick, and in order to make good deficiencies, that the tax may be laid upon their *Perukes*.

This digression may be thought too long, and that it is high time for me to come back to my subject. If any person should think it ungenerous in me to pursue an adversary that flies the combat, let him reflect, at least, on what he has seen at a Cock-fighting, and let me alone till my enemy is beat out of the pit. The *Wheeler* there is always pursued by his foe, in order to provoke him to turn and strike. I hope this comparison will not appear absurd to those who consider that Knights-errant are the *Game-cocks* of the human species.

Sir JOHN, in his last dissertation *, has taken upon him to define what a Man of Honour is in himself, abstracted from the appearance he makes of being so to the world. But that affectation of hard words, which I complained of in a former Paper, I fear, contributes much to bewilder him in his reasoning: he would mean something notable; but he wraps up his sense in such a crowd and intricacy of useless terms, to avoid *speaking familiarly*, as QUINTILIAN observes, that it is very hard to guess what he would be at. Give me leave to produce a paradox from him, which neither can easily be explained nor reconciled. " Thus, " he that is truly a Man of Honour, wants no

* THEATRE, N° XVI.

" man's

“ man’s opinion to make him such ; for he
“ may be so, though all the world thinks the
“ contrary of him, and he be universally re-
“ viled instead of being respected.” Accord-
ing to this definition, the most infamous per-
sons in the world are Men of Honour (if he
that is universally reviled, instead of being re-
spected, is a Man of Honour) if they are so
in their own private opinions. But Sir JOHN,
perhaps, may help us out in this meaning ; for
he says in about six lines lower, “ Him therefore
“ we truly call honourable, who knows himself
“ to be, and others believe to be, a Man of
“ Honour.” How finely the tables are turned
upon us ! His first position is, that he who is
truly a Man of Honour wants no man’s opinion
to make him such ; but then there is this essen-
tial difference, that we must call him truly ho-
nourable, whom others believe to be a Man of
Honour. This heap of contradictions in a few
words will amount to thus much : “ He is a
“ Man of Honour who thinks himself such,
“ though he be reviled by all the world, if the
“ world will but think him a Man of Honour.”

In the name of nonsense, what logick or
rhetorick can Sir JOHN have studied, thus to
perplex and unsettle his arguments ? It is said
that SOCRATES, when angry, never beat his
servant till he had first repeated the alphabet
to himself, by that delay to abate the heat of
his passion. I wish Sir JOHN, before he sits
down to write, would collect and repeat the
bead-

bead-roll of his hard words, in order to avoid them, and make his style and meaning easy and familiar to his Readers.

I cannot conclude more pleasingly on this head, than with BEN JOHNSON'S admonition to his "Crispinus:"

- ' You must not hunt for wild outlandish terms,
- ' To stuff out a peculiar dialect;
- ' But let your matter run before your words,
- ' And, if at any time you chance to meet
- ' A Gallo-Belgic phrase, you shall not strait
- ' Rack your poor verse to give it entertainment;
- ' But let it pass, and do not think yourself
- ' Much damnified, if you do leave it out,
- ' When nor your understanding, nor the sense,
- ' Could well receive it. This fair abstinence,
- ' In time, will render you more sound and clear.'

N° 5. MONDAY, February 29, 1719-20.

Nec sola juventus, sed & provehior ætas, vitiis juvenilibus ita erat implicata, ut luxui, lubricæque dissolutioni non dies sufficeret; noctes sæpius ludo ac choreis insomnes transigerent; ubi verò totis noctibus saltassent, lussissent, bibissent, pedibus plausissent, luxuriâ & comestationibus usque in lucem protraherent indulgissent, sopore, defessi, usque ad meridianam horam, nonnunquam usque ad vesperam quiescerent. NICHOL DE CLEM.

- ' Not youth only, but more advanced age is so in-
- ' veigled in juvenile vices, that day suffices not for
- ' luxury, lubricity, and dissoluteness; the sleepless
- ' night too is devoted to dancing and diversion:
- ' but

‘ but now truly, after wasting whole nights in dissipation, drinking, gaming, and gluttony, till day-light, worn out and over-powered with sleep, we keep our bed till mid-day, and sometimes till evening.’

IT would be no very hard matter to prove, that human nature, within a narrow period after our creation, has been ever the same: no distance of time, or difference of climates, has altered us in our tastes for vice and pleasure; but one continued series of luxury has been kept-up in all ages and countries, which the distinct modes and inclinations of people have struck out into forms peculiar to their nations and spirits. I shall not take upon me to determine whether the Eastern or European climes have exceeded in their pleasures; neither shall I enter into an enquiry, what advances in extravagance the gallants of a few late centuries have made upon more remote and modest ages. I am too old-fashioned a man to understand all our modern polite diversions; but I know that the manly exercises which employed our ancestors are now thought too robust, and tilts and tournaments have been jostled out of fashion by soft assemblies and midnight revelings.

I was led into this turn of thought by reflecting on the festival of the night *, the MASQUERADE: I call it a festival, because more immediately devoted to luxury. Whether it be

* We do not find it announced in any News-papers of that period which has fallen under our observation.

followed chiefly from a desire people have of appearing what they are, or what they are not, will remain a question. A great many, I am told, have affected to appear just what they are. Satyrs have talked in a familiar lewd style, Clowns behaved themselves with a great deal of ill-manners; and one in a coat of pictured cards has played all night at hazard. On the contrary, others have gone out of character to heighten their diversion; a Nun has been observed to talk and drink like a Courtezan; a demure Quaker has taken the liberty to swear; and a Dutch Skipper been the only person in the house who *said a witty thing*.

I know there is a certain erect person * about this town, who would assume to himself the honour of being the first inventor of *Masquerades*, and pretends he took the hint only from contemplating his own muscles in a glass: for, by a great command over his own features, he can distort and alter his countenance so as not to be known by his most familiar acquaintance †. By this means he has often passed for a fresh lover upon a mistress of a long standing; and having communicated his hint to the *Beau Monde*, he set up a subscription to bring people together for the diversion of both sexes; and this was the first of those projects which we now call *Bubbles*. It succeeded so well, that subscriptions rose immediately to a very

* HEIDEGGER. † See the "Biographical Anecdotes of Hogarth," ed. 1785, p. 157.

high price; all ranks of people outbidding each other for the liberty of playing the fool; and every husband being marked for a jealous coxcomb, who refused to indulge his wife in this innocent diversion.

Thus it began, and has continued to flourish; and the business of LOVE is now carried on with so much œconomy, that the lady is no longer obliged to put her reputation in the power of a chambermaid or valet; but all being transacted under a *Mask*, and the parties being in the dark to each other, no discoveries are made; and the divisions in families, which attend such discoveries, are happily prevented. I know it may be objected, that some accidents have happened, to the disuniting of those whom LOVE had once joined. A certain couple, retiring from the assembly to finish the most secret and mysterious part of the ceremony, were prevailed on by their raptures to *unmask* to each other: when, to their mutual surprize, they discovered the well-known faces of Husband and Wife; from whence such jealousies have arisen between them, that they are now come to separate beds, and the lady generally dines in her chamber. But this cannot be imputed to the ingenious Manager, but the indiscretion of parties, who would not keep up to the intention of *Masquerading*.

I must, however, inform this muscular gentleman, that though he may deceive the ignorant, and assume to himself a false applause,
by

by setting up for the inventor of this useful project; yet we of the learned, who have read the history and poetry of the Antients, are not to be so imposed upon: for Jove himself disguised his godhead in the shape of a bull upon the same design; nor are there Authors wanting, who maintain, that the three Goddesses appearing naked to PARIS was a kind of *Masquerade*. What was PUBLIUS CLODIUS's design upon POMPEIA, when he was surprized in women's cloaths, but a frolick in *Masquerade*? I could produce many more instances; but I think these sufficient to prove, that this gentleman cannot pretend with any modesty to the invention.

I am not without some apprehensions that the thing may sink into disgrace, if care is not taken to keep up to its first order, and the design of its foundation; which I take to have been the initiating of Virgins into the mysteries of VENUS, and helping sterility in more experienced matrons. It seems to bear a face of Heathenish superstition, and in some points resembles the *Lupercalia* among the Romans; at which feast the matrons who were barren, presented themselves to be touched by the young racers in the solemnity; a circumstance which SHAKSPEARE has finely introduced in "Julius Cæsar:"

CÆS. ' Forget not in your speed, good Antony,
 ' To touch Calphurnia; for our Elders say,
 ' The barren, touch'd in this same holy chace,
 ' Shake off their sterile curse.'

I have

I have been informed that many of our City Matrons have found great benefit by assisting at these midnight rites, and produced Heirs to the mighty joy of the happy Sires in opinion. But now I understand that corruption is creeping in; and as many go with a fordid view of getting money by play, as to obey the laws of the Cyprian Queen. Nay, more flagrant abuses than these are talked of, which, in kindness to the Fair Sex, I think myself obliged to mention. A noble Venetian, richly habited, at a late Masquerade, forced his courtship upon a pretty Milkmaid, and so far prevailed upon her innocence, that she promised him an interview the next day: he then left her, in pursuit of farther adventures; but she no sooner lost her Lover, than she perceived she had lost her gold snuff-box. He was afterwards discovered in the act of borrowing a cambrick handkerchief from a lady's pocket; and now this great man may be seen beating hemp in the College of Bridewell.

These instances must certainly be accounted an abuse of the Rites, since, in the Temple of VENUS, no thefts should be allowed but those of LOVE.

N° 6. THURSDAY, *March 3, 1719-20.*

Rarus enim fermè Sensus communis——

JUV. SAT. viii. 73.

‘ Good Sense, a Science fairly worth the Seven.’

I HAD determined with myself to give over Sir JOHN EDGAR as a recreant Knight, unable, or afraid, to exchange a blow with me in the lists of controversy. But I perceive in his dissertation of Saturday last some gleams of spirit; he seems as if he were inclined to be handling the sword, and gives himself an air, which a man who is resolved to be quarrelsome will be sure to interpret is meant to affront him. “ I have lived,” says he, “ to see men of ordinary talents (and that none out of modesty) despise a thing, because they immediately understood it. I have often affected obscurity in my Writings, to give this level of understanding some smart triumph over me, in exercising their little pretty parts, and unraveling a thing which was almost a difficulty.” I am willing, I say, to think this intended as a reflection on me; and shall have some deference for the courage of my opponent. I am as formal and solemn in the conduct of my resentments, as the renowned DON QUIXOTE was in his civilities: that ceremonious Knight, if but a puppet bowed to him, returned the compliment in kind, and if but a wooden adversary were to make an offer at me, I should

I should think myself obliged, in the punctilios of Chivalry, to give him a flourish of honour.

It is generous to do justice to our greatest enemy. Sir JOHN and I happen to be such only from his claim to a province, which I by descent and right challenge to be mine, he by Patent or Usurpation would maintain is his. I confess, and without envy be it spoken, he has of late given the world testimonies of an extraordinary capacity; and I do not know whether more to admire that air of truth and certainty in his positions, or that uncommon and diffusive learning which leads him to dive into secrets of nature. I cannot be suspected to flatter him, in a matter where conviction is on his side. All men have owned themselves obliged to the genius, by whose happy discoveries they are informed of something that has escaped the observation of preceding ages: here, therefore, I may be allowed to return Sir JOHN my thanks. Who can help believing him, that is not hardy enough to contest the most open truth? And yet who can help, at the same time, being surprized at his sagacity, when he informs us, that, “by several steps and gradations, mankind came into the use of money?” This, for the future, will undeceive your adepts in learning, who might otherwise entertain a notion that our first parents were monied people, and not have heard that, for some ages, traffick was carried on by barter and exchange, “till gold and silver became the token of wealth, and purchase of every other commodity.”

Nor is he content to explain the nature and excellence of those metals; but he proceeds to teach us, that “jewels have brightness, weight, and variations of colour;” and, which is indeed peculiar to jewels only, and cannot be said of any thing else, this brightness, weight, and variations of colour, give them a value above any thing below their quality; that is, as I conceive, make them better in kind, and more esteemed, than paltry stones that are worse in kind, and less esteemed.

But I shall go too far in the praises of this great man. I suppose he designs, at a proper CRISIS, to compile his THEATRES in a volume, and then somebody may be obliged with a Dedication. I met with one lately in a foreign Author who has paid custom, which I have transcribed with very little variation, and is heartily at Sir JOHN’s service.

“ To the Ornament of her Sex, the most incomparable Lady, GOOD-SENSE.

“ MADAM,

“ AMONGST us mortals there is nothing so much talked of as your Ladyship; we are for courting your presence upon all occasions; and yet your Ladyship is so cruel, that you seldom are in a humour of favouring us with your assistance. You love to be looked for; yet every man that seeks you cannot find you; and he that thinks he has found

“ found you is often mistaken ; for when he
“ is in possession of you but a minute, you often
“ give him the slip before he perceives it.
“ What can be the meaning of these whims ?
“ You must not be surprized, Madam, if, in-
“ stead of flattery, which is the style of all De-
“ dications, I fall into reproaches. I have pro-
“ fessed myself one of your admirers ; and yet
“ you fly me. I had a mind to have said sooth-
“ ing things to you ; but I knew that, if a
“ flight of fancy should lead me astray, your
“ Ladyship would have good-nature enough to
“ forsake me in some obscure labyrinth, from
“ whence I should not be able to disengage
“ myself. Therefore I must be so plain with
“ your Ladyship, to declare, that you must not
“ expect, in the course of my Writings, that
“ either the thought, the subject, or style, shall
“ be discomposed by your Ladyship’s humour ;
“ yet I cannot help owning, that the oddness
“ of your temper has given me a great deal of
“ uneasiness, and that I have mourned your
“ absence ; when I am vain enough to fancy
“ that I have you, at the same time I am
“ under some distrusts that I only grasp a
“ phantom. There is a certain enemy of yours
“ that has laid hold of us, turned our hearts,
“ and blinded our eyes, against you ; and which
“ occasions your caprice towards us ; you will
“ easily guess I mean Self-love ; you are both
“ jealous rivals ; and neither of you will be sa-
“ tisfied unless you have a man all to yourself.

“ It is certain your designs upon us are dif-
“ ferent. Self-love is for leading us into Error;
“ while you are for conducting us to Truth
“ under the specious and lovely name of Rea-
“ son; which is another title that your Lady-
“ ship is distinguished by. For my part, I
“ would fain reconcile you; but I find it can-
“ not be done, unless you cease to be Good
“ Sense, or she to be Self-love; therefore I set
“ aside my project as a thing impossible; and
“ shall begin to speak of my book. - I hope you
“ are not displeas'd that I am the first Author
“ who has ventured to address your Ladyship
“ in this public manner. I say public manner,
“ because, I believe, we all *dedicate* to you in
“ our own imaginations. I am surpriz'd that
“ no other Author should have thought of this
“ before me, since your name is never menti-
“ oned without honour; and where could it so
“ properly appear as at the head of a book?
“ I am not without hopes, that when your
“ name in capitals shall be seen immediately
“ next to the title-page of my book, it may
“ prepossess the criticks in my favour, who,
“ without the sanction of such an address, may
“ be apt to fall upon me: I can assure you, I
“ have always declared in public, that I have
“ a great respect for your Ladyship; and though
“ I cannot pretend that I began, and carried on
“ my Writings for your sake, yet it is purely
“ out of respect to your Ladyship that I
“ finished; otherwise I should have writ on as
“ long

“ long as my pen and fingers would have lasted.
 “ It is true, there are some Authors who of late
 “ have exercised their little pretty parts in bring-
 “ ing my Writings into disgrace; but I hope
 “ your Ladyship will look upon them with a
 “ more favourable eye, since, if I have not
 “ succeeded, your Ladyship ought to consider
 “ it is your own fault.

“ Yours, whenever you will permit, &c.”

I had no sooner finished, but by man, according to custom, brought me the Play-bills. I was pleas'd to observe, that Mrs. BULLOCK, who, though very young, is a good proficient in the science of acting, had chosen a Comedy, written by the best Comic Poet now alive, to be performed on Monday next, at the New House, for her benefit. My man likewise tells me, what I myself had overlooked; that she has the honour of having it by his Royal Highness's Command.

N^o 7. MONDAY, *March 7, 1719-20.*

‘ When Power puts in his plea, the laws are silenc’d;
 ‘ The world confesses one Rome, and one Cæsar,
 ‘ And as his rule is infinite, his pleasures
 ‘ Are unconfin’d; this syllable, his *will*
 ‘ Stands for a thousand reasons.’

MASSINGER.

I Cannot yet find, with the strictest diligence which I have used in my enquiries, that the Rich Man who ventured to remove the transpa-

rent *bee-bive*; is any ways stung or disfigured, as he was threatened, by its inhabitants. Neither his hands are disabled, nor his features altered; but he continues to interfere with this dangerous machine with as much steadiness as he at first attempted it with resolution. We all know, why the Lion was painted in subjection to the Man; and Sir JOHN EDGAR's Fabulist* was a Patentee, or his Bees had never been described in so formidable a light.

Were the jurisdiction of the Theatre, whose members all style themselves "His Majesty's Servants," not so strongly lodged in the Chamberlain, as by proof it is found to be; the distance in quality betwixt him and the Director of a Play-house, the dependance such a Community must necessarily have on the favour and protection of the Court, and the fear of losing that interest to which they owe all the rest of their success, should be considerations to abate and qualify any insolence in their conduct, and strong dissuatives from not complying with such measures as he should think fit to impose.

The Town now will begin to have less fear of being ridden too hard by that prevailing Theatre; and, however they may be indulged in proper privileges, which the wisdom of the Crown and its deputies know when to bestow, the Directors must now act with a limited power, and not with the air of being that arbitrary

* THEATRE, N^o VII.

Ministry, which they themselves, or the kindness of their better friends, insinuated they were. Among the benefits, as I conceive, that we shall have in our pleasures, from their being under new restrictions, it is no small one, that the tax of advanced prices must not so often be levied on the Town: it is likely now too, that Plays will be performed to better advantage, and parts assigned with some propriety, and not disposed of from the casual motives of indulgence or resentment; for every good Actor that is aggrieved or depressed has his appeal to the Chamberlain for a redress. If the public prints are to be depended on, the Company of Comedians belonging to Drury-lane were lately sworn at the Lord Chamberlain's office *, pursuant to an order occasioned by their acting in obedience to his Majesty's licence granted, exclusive of a Patent formerly obtained by Sir RICHARD STEELE. The tenor of their oath is, that, as his Majesty's servants, they shall act subservient to the Lord Chamberlain, Vice Chamberlain, and Gentleman Usher in waiting.

I was going to say, if the Lord Chamberlain had not that controul over the King's Theatre which he actually has, it is pity but a great officer should have something to do, more than to distinguish himself by his attendance on the Court. I would not have Sir JOHN EDGAR

* See THEATRE, N° XX. p. 157, note, *ad finem.*
imagine,

imagine, that I desire to see a great man do mischief in the wantonness of his power; but there is a foolish maxim which has stuck by me some time, that makes me think it very difficult for inferiors to determine when power is wanton, and when it is regular.

The great business of a Courtier, as merely such, is idleness; but this idleness is a most ingenious art, and requires study and application. The man of business seems to despise it, but yet envies it in his heart. It is an art that consists in a fawning attendance upon some great Favourite of a Prince, in a respectful observance of his words, his motions, and his looks, in order to discover his thoughts, his pleasures, and disquiets. If the great man moves, or uses any particular gesture, the Courtier does the same, and like two instruments in unison, whatever passion touches the one, has an influence upon the other.

The second part of the Courtier's business is the study of an easy and affable address, a readiness at the external civilities of bows and salutations, which send every man away pleased that has access to him. These are not things merely of form, but of singular use, and are the ready money with which some Courtiers often pay their debts. An experienced thorough-paced Courtier therefore never moves, smiles, or speaks, but upon such important occasions; unless where he has a prospect of supplanting another; and then, indeed, he is allowed to exert

exert himself, and go out of his common road.

Sometimes, indeed, Courtiers have affairs of great consequence to manage, as to stand by and support one whom they know to be very well established in the favour of their Prince; and so, on the contrary, if, by any caprice of Fortune or the Prince, his foot should slip, their business is to watch the occasion, and throw him quite down.

When I see a new and upstart Courtier advance himself by the interest of an old stander there, it puts me in mind of one man's guiding another up a narrow passage to the summit of a hill; when both have travelled as high as they can go, to the very edge of the precipice; the follower, instead of thanking his guide, pushes him down on the sudden, breaks his neck, and then laughs at his misfortune. Thus the Great raise and destroy one another by certain arts and fetches altogether unworthy of the vulgar.

There is very little stability in favour, though titles are not to be taken away till the person forfeits his life with them. Sir JOHN EDGAR happily observes, and with his accustomed elegance, that when any one is made a Knight, *he from that moment is known to be worthy of his Prince's notice* *. I have nothing

* See THEATRE, N^o XVI. p. 130, whence this is not quite fairly quoted.

to object to this wise assertion, but what a great Statesman, and a Knight too, of our own country, has somewhere said: "There is a
 " Nobility, in parchment, bought with silver,
 " or favour; and these are, indeed, but honours
 " of affection, which Kings, with the change
 " of their fancies, wish they knew well how to
 " wipe off again."

N^o 8. THURSDAY, March 10, 1719-20.

*Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidère; cadentque
 Quæ nunc sunt in honore.*

HOR. de Art. Poet. ver. 70.

“Many shall rise, that now forgotten lie;

“Others, in present credit, soon shall die!”

FRANCIS.

IT is an inexpressible loss to such, whose heads are turned to; or whose business lies with, Theatrical Affairs, that the old *Didascalìa* of Plays have not survived the envy of Time. The laborious Collector had preserved to the world not only the names of all new pieces and their Authors, but settled the precise times of their coming on, the success they met with in their performance, and the shocks they suffered from the caprice of a partial Audience, or the impertinence of an assuming Player.

Were this valuable treatise now in being, we might form much juster notions of the regulations of THEATRES than we without it can pretend to do, and determine more exactly wherein the science of Learning is sunk, or how far we have improved upon our forefathers.

From the distant knowlege that I have acquired of the difficulties which attend this business, I cannot but heartily pity the Patentees and Directors of a Play-house. Their post may be honourable, and their power extensive within their own limits: but, like other Monarchies, they are so subject to revolutions, and the body of their subjects so seldom content with their present rulers, that it takes off mightily from the real value of their dignity. I have now before me a Manuscript Tract, called "Cimbalum Theatri," dark in its character, and obliterated almost with time, wherein there is extant the fragment of a letter from CLARISSA, an eminent Actress, as she should seem, to somebody of consequence in the Town; perhaps, some Weekly Half-sheet Author, like Sir JOHN EDGAR and myself. It contains some circumstances so parallel with others within our own memory, that it almost would persuade one there is a revolution of the self-same accidents at certain distances and periods of time. But I will transcribe it, as it lies in my Author.

* * * *Defunt multa in principio.* * * * * *

“ * * * I have

“ * * * I have been often told by my Lovers, that I was formed for the delight of mankind ; if so, I will be so vain to declare, that I have not altogether baulked the end of my creation : and though my sisters of the Drama have, most of them, done as much to please as I have, yet none of them have been equally successful. I must tell you, that I cannot forbear conceiving a secret pleasure from observing, whenever my name is put up in the bills, how it increases the crowd of our spectators. But these people do not consider, that what they pay to see me only serves to swell the pride, and increase the sauciness, of others, who do not thank them. You may see that I am a little angry ; but you will perceive that I have some reason for my resentments.

“ You must know, that some years since we had a King put over us : this Prince, being lazy and indolent, neglected his government ; and to throw all care off from himself, chose three Viceroyes, in which he neither consulted merit nor dignity. Had he consulted merit, he would have chosen those whose persons contributed most to the support of the government ; if dignity, I think he might have cast his eyes on me. Thus being excluded from all share in the administration, I was forced to submit, which you may imagine must be a great mortification to me, who knew the *beginning* of the creatures I was to obey. I must tell you, that authority sat very awkwardly upon

upon them: like sudden great men, they thought that to be Great was to be proud; and all who had access to them, were entertained with nothing but discourses of their own merit and grandeur. They wanted one thing in their government, which they stood more in need of than any thing besides, and that was a Civility-Master; for their behaviour was of the very lowest style. I cannot deny but I have often mutinied, and then it is pleasant to observe the different carriage of the Triumvirate. But with this I shall not trouble you.

“A revolution has lately happend in our affairs, our Prince is dethroned, and our mock ministry in so tottering a condition, that they tremble at some great names they used to treat with contempt. But these accidents, I think, will be no ways prejudicial to my private interest, for you must know, that I think this a proper time to push myself into the administration, and enjoy a little dominion, which is sweet to a woman. I desire you will publish my letter, that I may know the sentiments of the Town upon the preferment I intend myself, for I would fain begin my reign with the favour of the people. Yours, CLARISSA.”

The tract before me, as it is lame in many points of private history, gives no account whether this Lady was successful in her ambition, or lived to take any part in the administration. I am willing to be as candid as possible to her memory, but must own I take some offence

offence at the reflections of contempt which she throws on her governors. As a woman, it might have been a little foreign to her to know, it is never reckoned a disgrace to a General that he once bore arms; nor do I think that a good Player need to blush for having once personated an elbow-chair, begun his business humbly with snuffing the candles, or if he made his entry with more noise, and beat the Tragedy-drum for others, before he could arrive at wearing Buskins. Whoever will search into the annals of the Theatre, will find that many heroes; of but low stations in a flying Company, and trained up under the discipline of Mrs. MYNNS *, and others of itinerant fame, have afterwards made considerable figures, when list'd to the service of the Theatres, and entertained in a regular garrison.

I am as much at a loss to think who this Theatrical Prince might be, whom CLARISSA mentions to have been deposed. All revolutions are dreadful to the persons whom they nearly affect; and human-nature is less armed with Philosophy to bear a deprivation of power, than of wealth, or any other contingency, in which we are so apt to conceive ourselves happy. I never read the lamentable reflections of Mr.

* Mrs. MYNNS and her daughter Mrs. LEIGH kept a booth at Bartholomew Fair, where poor ELKANAH SETTLE, at the close of life, exhibited himself in a Farce in the character of a Dragon. See Biog. Dram. art. SETTLE.

PETER,

PETER, once a happy Master of a Puppet-show, until the cruel rashness of DON QUIXOTE demolished his motion, without those sentiments of compassion which ought to swell a generous bosom. "Yesterday," says he, "I was king of Spain, but now not master of a foot of land. Within this quarter of an hour, I had one of the fairest Courts in the world: I commanded Kings and Emperors; and now behold me a poor Nicodemus, a naked, sad, disconsolate beggar; and all through the rash and inconsiderate fury of an ungrateful Knight, that calls himself the bulwark of orphans and widows, the support and comfort of the afflicted. He is full of charity for others; but, it seems, he reserved all his malice to spend it upon me and mine!"

Lest this soliloquy should make too melancholy an impression, I think proper to acquaint my Readers, Mr. PETER was allotted a sort of recompence for his damage; and then nobody could speak more respectfully than himself of the before ungrateful Knight.

* * * To-morrow will be published, the Second Edition of "Whig and Tory; a Comedy, as it is acted at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. By Mr. GRIFFIN." Printed for N. MIST, in Great Carter-lane. Price 1s. 6d.

N° 9. MONDAY, *March* 14, 1719-20.

Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.

‘ If the populace will be deceived, they must.’ PROV.

THE wise Spartans, to discourage intemperance in their families, often forced their slaves to drink to excess, and then led them in that condition round their public halls that their children might see what a contemptible and beastly sight a drunken man was. I do not in the least wonder that they grew into an abhorrence of this vice from such representations; but I am surprized that any one should, by an obscene description, pretend to rail at, or discountenance, obscenity. Sir JOHN EDGAR, by the influence of Lent, and overflowing of his morality, is very severe on the indecorums of the French Players *, as acting against all sense of decency, or so much as cleanliness; but his arraignment of their indecency runs in terms and images so gross, that there is more moral turpitude in his discourse, than in all the gestures or expressions of these foreign Strollers.

In this remark I would not be supposed an advocate for Harlequin. The French farces are

* This refers to THEATRE, N° XXI. p. 159, & *seqq.*
full

full of base, and insipid ribaldry, equally shocking to good sense and good manners; the characters personated are of the lowest class of men; and consequently their actions, which are designed to excite laughter, may be too free and unpolite for a British audience: but when I am to tell the Town my sentiments of them, when I am determin'd to censure the looseness of their performances, it would misbecome my honour to do it in their strain, or, at least, look as if I were indeed *reading lectures to savages*. Sir JOHN EDGAR and I, while we boast our Knighthood, must act and write up to that dignity, and never suffer the baseness of the matter which we are to treat of, to soil and discolour our style and argument.

The family of the FALSTAFFES have all had a tincture of that pride which distinguishes the ancient gentry, and which is very properly called a *family pride*. Thus the gentry of Wales and North Britain never pay respect to a man for his acquired wealth and titles, or the *eclat* of his gay equipage, but shew him a greater or less esteem, in proportion to the long roll of ancestors from whom he is descended. As for my part, I am so strongly possessed with this humour, that it is become my *foible*, or weak side. I have a notion, that a gentleman must be civil, well-bred, and generous, by instinct, in spite of education, or the prejudices of company; and when I see a creature, who is reputed to be well-born, behave himself with rudeness

and ill-manners, I do not know how to account for it, but by supposing the family has had foul play on the mother's side; and that some impudent valet, by the favour of night and stratagem, had found a way to personate his master, so crossed the strain, and spoiled the good-breeding of the family for ever after. A certain uncle of mine, JEFFREY FALSTAFFE by name, had his head so turned by this species of extravagance, that, being in company with a man whose figure and fortune made him much taken notice of by the gay world, and who by education had contracted an elegance of behaviour, though he was really but a brewer's son; this genteel carriage so offended my kinsman, that he was for sending the young fellow a challenge the next morning; and could not be persuaded but his good-manners were affected only to ridicule gentility. But a friend luckily interposed, to moderate my kinsman's resentment, pleading the young fellow was always very inoffensive, that he had known him from his infancy, and was acquainted with his parents; and then he added, in a sort of whisper, "that the well bred NED COURTLY lodged in
" the same house with his mother, at Eptom *,
" for some time before the young fellow was
" born:" upon hearing which last circumstance, my uncle JEFFREY submitted to be pacified.

* Then a place of pleasurable resort.

I do not pretend to know Sir JOHN EDGAR's family ; but I am shrewdly tempted to suspect, that he is not come of the most genteel breed, when his terms are so extremely *à la canaille*. He complains that “ a regular, orderly, and
 “ well-governed Company of Actors, that lived
 “ in reputation and credit, and under decent
 “ settlement, are to be torn to pieces, and made
 “ vagabond, to make room for even *foreign*
 “ *vagrants*, who deserved no reception but in
 “ Bridewell, even before they affronted an as-
 “ ssembly composed of the British Nobility and
 “ Gentry, with representations that could intro-
 “ duce nothing of even *French*, but the disease
 “ so called *.” Now I would fain be informed, what likelihood there is of this *regular Com-pany*, which he so vigorously espouses, being torn to pieces ? How did the French Players deserve Bridewell, even before they were so unhappy as to fall under his displeasure ? Or what strange sort of representations can they be, that, if I must repeat the phrase, could *introduce* to the Audience the *French disease* ?

It is odd, that Sir JOHN should never complain of the Stage's obscenity till the French appeared among us ; as if our own Actors were to be indulged in a little innocent lewdness. He does not reflect what a luscious incident is shewn in “ The Relapse,” and what a fine representation is made of the discovery of an in-

* THEATRE, N° XXI. p. 160.

trigue betwixt the fine Gentleman and Servant-Maid in "The Careless Husband:" yet these Comedies have been played since Sir JOHN drew his pen, and he never took notice of any indecency. But Sir JOHN is very unlucky in his reflections; which makes me think that he had his intelligence from the *false Count*, who appeared on the Stage as a Spectator at the French Play, in contempt of an English Audience, before whom he should that night have played his part, which the Company were obliged to get read by an inferior Actor.

I must inform Sir JOHN, that there is a little witty French Physician in this town, who may think himself bound in justice to take up the cudgels in favour of the vagrants of his own nation, as Sir JOHN is pleased to call them. Such a controversy as this will make the whole Town merry, since there is scarcely a man who will care which gets the better. The little Frenchman has threatened it already, and is beginning a work which he intends to call "Les Vies des Hommes illustres:" this treatise is to contain the lives and memorable actions of the present Hay-market and Drury-lane Heroes, with comparisons in imitation of Plutarch, by which he will leave it to the impartial Reader's determination, which Troop are best qualified for Bridewell. If this work goes on, Sir JOHN's favourites will have no reason to thank him, since it is his indiscreet zeal that draws it upon them.

But

But Sir JOHN tells us, that he foresees “ Sensation is to banish Reflection, as Sound is to beat down Sense.” I suspect strongly, that he is as angry with the absurdity of the French Farce, as with the freedom of their language and action, without considering that our Audiences are never so well pleased as when entertained with extravagancies. I cannot help once more reminding him of a passage in the “ Life of DON QUIXOTE :” that fantastical Knight would not allow the Prolocutor to the Puppet-show to bring in *bells* into Saragossa, because the Moors had no bells. “ Never let such trifles disturb your patience, I beseech you, Sir Knight,” said the Master of the Motion *. “ Do not we find Comedies acted every day, that talk of *great guns* in Alexander the Great’s time, and *giants* in Edward the Third’s time : with a hundred extravagancies altogether as absurd, yet acted with the applause and admiration of most of the Spectators ? Go on, boy, go on ; let there be as many impertinencies as motes in the sun, so I get money, and the Audience is diverted.”

* A Puppet-show was then so called.

N° 10. THURSDAY, *March 25, 1719-20.*

Ἄγξιον λέγεις.

Τὸ γὰρ σοφίσμα δημοτικὸν ἔστι χρησίμων.

ARISTOPH. *Nub.* ver. 204.

‘You say wittily; for the scheme is useful and
‘public-spirited.’

IT is a pleasure to me to consider, when in my speculative moods, with how much indulgence the wise Author of our being makes up to us, in one blessing, what, in our weak judgement, he seems to deny us in another. The life of man is circumscribed in a very narrow compass; and even half of that term we labour under ignorance and infirmity; so slow are the gradations of human knowledge, and with such difficulty is our sense to be informed by rule and discipline: but then, to make amends for this loss of time, we are recompensed with the faculty of *imaginatiæ*; and a power of *invention*, that, like light, shoot out at once through the whole horizon of Nature, and take in every object that can lie within the reach of the soul and senses. And, thus aided, we are put in a possibility of being more considerable, than if we were allowed to live to the *Antediluvian* period, without such assistances.

Invention

Invention exercises itself two ways ; in making discoveries to the world of things till then unknown, and giving a certain magical turn to the most common things, the dexterity of which, till known, surprizes equal to a miracle in Nature. The inventors, most considerable in the first kind, are our Poets and Projectors ; and they, who amuse us only with the shuffling of matter, are the Quacks and Jugglers. The industry of both these sets of mortals is the same, but the method of their working very different. The latter ever throw dust in our eyes, that they may with more certainty pick our pockets ; but the first fondly wink themselves, and expect that we should be blind in complaisance.

Our countrymen, I must own, have the character rather of improving upon the inventions of their neighbours, than of inventing many things themselves ; but impartial posterity will confess the opinion is founded on prejudice, or must acknowledge that the genius of climates alters with time ; if they will please to look back on the wonderful and important discoveries started in this age, and all the growth and manufacture of our own proper head-pieces.

As I am a true Englishman, which should imply a sincere lover of my country, I shall always pay my thanks to every public spirit, who racks his invention for the good of that country. I believe it will be allowed, that any
man,

man, who improves the Arts or Sciences, or is the author of any bright invention in Mechanicks, does the Commonwealth more service, that has the happiness to possess him, than a General who wins her the most signal battle. There is many a fine Genius at this time confined to their garrets, within the bills of mortality, who are content to postpone their own most material affairs, in order to raise schemes for the common benefit. An ingenious Gentleman, and a great lover of his country, in the time of the late war, who was but low in circumstances, and obliged to hide from his creditors, found out a fund for the raising of ten millions without burthening the subject: but, being a man of a great soul, and scorning to do a little thing, he freely left his papers engaged for *half a crown* at a *twelve-penny* ordinary, so the project never came to any thing, and the Nation's debts continue to be unpaid to this very day. But new schemes are forming by the wise for this great work. I remember a facetious old Villager in ARISTOPHANES, who had encumbered himself to supply his son's extravagance, proposed an expedient to SOCRATES, how he might defraud his creditors of their interest. Money among the ATHENIANS was taken up by the month; and it was a custom with them to clear all interest on the last day of every old moon. "Now," says the Villager, "I would fain hire a Thessalian witch, and by her art draw down the moon by night into
" my

“ my hand ; then clap it into a case, like a
“ pocket looking-glass, and so keep it close”—
“ But what advantage would you draw from
“ thence ?” replied SOCRATES. “ Why, if the
“ moon,” says the other, “ was never to appear
“ any more, then should I never pay any more
“ interest.” I wish, with all my heart, some
such sagacious means could be devised to free
the nations from the burthen of interest, and it
would much facilitate the schemes contrived for
the payments of its debts.

But it happens unluckily, that all our coun-
trymen, whose heads are turned for *projecting*,
do not concur to think in the same public-
spirited way : some have a more *metaphysical*
cast of thought ; and these, perhaps, amuse
themselves with the discovery of the *longitude*,
a subject which has caused many whispers
among the ladies, who are not so deeply read
in the *mathematicks*. Another, an acquaintance
of mine, and a new-married man, cannot be per-
suaded but he can account for the *perpetual mo-
tion*. Others, in their inventions, work upon
the fund of more tender sentiments ; as the
gentleman, who devised a *musical mousetrap*, did
it, no doubt, to relieve the distress of an inno-
cent animal unused to confinement.

Some, whose brains work in a more humble
train of thought, employ their skill in promoting
the common conveniences of life. An honett
man of industry is at this time, as I am informed,
labouring for a Patent, he having by his sa-
gacity

gacity invented a *furtout* coat, whose materials and contexture will not only defend the wearer from the inclemencies of the weather, but assist him in his travels, by serving him in the capacity of a *boat*, and enabling him at an exigence to cross any stream that is not too wide or rapid.

A man of figure, whose head ran upon finer wheels, had invented a sort of *coaches*, which were to move by a kind of enchantment, as it would appear to the vulgar, without the assistance of horses, mules, or any living creature, but the person who sits in the vehicle. It is thought this project, of keeping a coach at so small an expence, was concerted for the particular ease of *privileged persons*, and to support the dignity of such who do not care for the trouble of paying for horses. It unluckily fell out, as many great designs have been frustrated by trivial accidents, the ingenious projector got into the machine to make an experiment; but, winding up the work too high, the chariot ran away with him quite out of sight*. This, by the way, was not entirely a new invention, but founded on the scheme of VULCAN's *joint-stools*, which came in and went out of a room of their own accords, whenever they were to be of use to the owner. DÆDALUS's *statues* were the first copies from this notable invention; and, in our times, all the artificers in *wax-work* take care to give some of

* The modern BALLOON seems here to be predicted.

their

their inanimate figures a sort of *spontaneous* motion.

Another of our countrymen, who is ever endeavouring to be useful to the commonwealth, had contrived to prevent the exorbitances of our *Fish-markets* in this great metropolis*. For this end he had ordered a *vessel* called a *pool* to be built, which was to make so many returns in every season, and bring home all manner of *Fish*, not beneath the size of a *Gudgeon*, for the service of his loving countrymen. I must be so just to the last age to declare, that this is not altogether a new project, but built on the devices of Sir POLITICK WOU'D-BE, who contracted to serve the state of Venice with *red-berrings* from Rotterdam, at an easier rate than they had ever hoped for so valuable a commodity.

For the Benefit of the Curious.

N. B. On Saturday next, at the Great Masquerade Room in the Hay-market, will begin a sale of French Harlequins, perfect as they came over; two of them with cracked voices and countenances a little tarnished. To prevent frauds, the price they will go at will be put on their backs.

* SIR RICHARD STEELE. See his "Fish-Pool."

N^o 11. MONDAY, March 21, 1719-20.

*Difficile est Satyram non scribere: nam quis iniquæ
Tàm patiens urbis, tàm ferreus, ut teneat se?*

JUVENAL i. 30.

- ‘ Such fulsome objects meeting every where,
- ‘ Tis hard to write, but harder to forbear.
- ‘ To view so lewd a Town, and to refrain,
- ‘ What hoops of iron would my spleen contain?’

DRYDEN.

NOTHING is more irksome to a sensible man, than a jargon of terms that do not fall within the sphere of his understanding. I have observed that men of business, in all professions, talk in a dialect peculiar to themselves, and different from that used by the more polite and conversable part of mankind. I had a sufficient evidence of this observation, from being obliged lately, in company with a friend, to make a halt in the celebrated Exchange Alley. As soon as I grew weary of the continual elbowings, and importunate buz, to which that place is subject at certain hours, I made bold to ask my friend what it was o’clock; and was answered by an industrious neighbour, “that African was from forty-six and a half to forty-eight.” This unexpected reply, as it made me smile, made me likewise a little curious in my survey of the persons that were
con-

continually wheeling about us. A skilful painter would find it very hard to express that mixture of *business* and *stupidity* which are seen in the looks of creatures who are able to bite wiser men's heads off in the mysteries of trade. I was not surprized to find a set of *unchristian* faces there; but it gave me some uneasiness to see them mixed in commerce with persons that are entitled to a place in the most august assembly in the land.

I remember to have read, in some Italian Author, a remark which seems to bear hard on the age and time in which he lived. The merry Satyrist observes, that there were neither "Jews enough, Priests enough, nor Noblemen enough, in his country."—"How!" says the person who helps to sustain the dialogue, "The common complaint is, that there are too many of all these."—"No," replies the other, "it is a mistaken complaint; for, if there were Jews enough, so many Noblemen would not turn Stock-jobbers; if there were Priests enough, one would not enjoy five or six benefices: and if there were Noblemen enough, so many mushrooms, sprung from dunghills, would not aspire to Nobility." Upon this he proceeds to give particular instances of what he had advanced. "Do not you observe," says he, "the noble Lorenzo, Brabantio, and Petruccio, with many others, who are held in the rank of Princes both for their dignities and fortunes, attending every day upon the
"pub-

“ public Forum or Exchange, and mixing with
 “ a crowd of common Usurers, only to wait
 “ an opportunity of getting two or three *scudi*,
 “ or crowns, by over-reaching some other in a
 “ bargain? Yet these are the men that give laws
 “ to nations, and whom, while we hold them
 “ in secret contempt, we must speak of with
 “ reverence, as of Gods; for they have made
 “ it dangerous, in many cases, to mention their
 “ names even with truth. Who can forbear
 “ admiring the humble industry of Montano,
 “ when he condescends to transact his own bar-
 “ gains, to save the fee of an agent or broker?
 “ when he boasts his skill in all the tricks of
 “ stock-jobbing? in fine, when he has all the
 “ frugal virtues of a poor Mechanick, and only
 “ the vices of an Italian Nobleman? What
 “ shall we say of the unjust division of the pa-
 “ trimonies of the Church? How many lazy,
 “ fat Priests are surrounded with state and equi-
 “ page, and are saluted every year with the
 “ profits of benefices, which perhaps they
 “ never saw! Who will may take the cure
 “ of the souls; their care is concerned to col-
 “ lect the revenue. But, above all, I cannot
 “ but lament the fate of my country, when
 “ I consider the decrease of its Nobility, and
 “ to what a sad necessity it is reduced, to fill
 “ up the roll, and supply the places of the
 “ families that are extinct. Nobility, at first,
 “ was the reward of virtue; and there was a
 “ time, when no man in Florence was raised

“ to that high dignity, but he that deserved
“ well of his country, and, for some great and
“ worthy action, was thought fit to be raised
“ above the level of common men. But now
“ Nobility is carried to market, and rises and
“ falls in its price, like other saleable commo-
“ dities, according to the number of the pur-
“ chasers. A few years since, there was a great
“ demand for titles; upon which they rose fif-
“ teen *per cent.*; at present they are but low,
“ because there are but few who are able to
“ purchase: but they may rise again, for I am
“ told, that there are many projects on foot,
“ by which sudden great fortunes may be
“ made, and then, no doubt, the fortunate
“ may have an inclination to be made great.
“ I see every day, new faces with new coronets
“ on their coaches, which gives me a curiosity
“ to enquire who the persons are; when, to my
“ surprize, I hear of names that were scarcely
“ ever known among their countrymen. It
“ would be too tedious to enumerate them
“ all; yet I cannot forbear taking notice of
“ one, whose inclinations to Greatness and
“ Needle-work have distinguished him above
“ the rest. This, person, being mean by de-
“ scent, but great in fortune and in soul, had
“ an ambition to be enrolled in that august
“ body who are honoured for their titles.
“ Long he in vain attempted to climb, but at
“ last, upon the merit of some thousands, well
“ placed, he slipped into the robes and Patrician

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“ order,

“ order, where his eminent littleness appears
 “ very conspicuous. He will leave his pos-
 “ terity something to boast of above many of
 “ his contemporaries; and no doubt his works
 “ will be seen with wonder, when he shall be
 “ gathered to the grave. While the halls of
 “ other great men shall be adorned with pic-
 “ tures representing the actions of their ances-
 “ tors, who were Generals; where the battles
 “ they had gained, too often the work of for-
 “ tune, are set out to view: his successors will
 “ shew the work of his own hands, in which
 “ fortune had no part, and the chairs and coun-
 “ terpanes will speak the great genius of the
 “ raiser of the family. But the misfortune of
 “ a citizen of Florence will never be forgot,
 “ who, having laid out a great sum for the
 “ purchase of a title, was so unlucky as to
 “ become a bankrupt before his patent had
 “ passed through the formalities required by
 “ law, and was forced by the accident to pay
 “ his debts as far as his effects would extend.”

I shall translate no more, because I find in
 the sequel our Author is a little severe upon those
 who value themselves upon being *well-born*, a
 circumstance which, I think, touches myself.
 I shall only observe upon the foregoing quota-
 tion, that in our own, and other countries
 besides Florence, the decay of Nobility has
 been supplied as much to the disadvantage of
 real honour. In the reign of King James the
 First, it is said, that titles were not always well-
 placed;

placed; which made an extravagant young fellow very smart upon a Courtier, whom he desired to move the King to make him a Lord. "What pretensions, either of blood or merit," replies the Courtier, "have you to recommend you to that dignity?" The young man confessed modestly, that "he hoped he stood possessed of all the qualities requisite for a fashionable Nobleman; that he loved dogs, dice, and drabs; scorned wit in poor cloaths; and had beat his shoe-maker, lain with his sempstres, made a cuckold of his apothecary, and ruined his taylor." The matter came to the King's ear; but the young candidate's preferment was opposed by a person in waiting, who, it seems, had had no feeling in the affair. The King demanded what reasons there were against the man's being made a Lord; the Courtier insisted, that "he was a mean obscure person, and not so much as a Gentleman."—"Oh! it is no matter for that," replies the Monarch merrily, "I can make a Lord, though I cannot make a Gentleman."

* * "By the encouragement of Mr. Secretary ADDISON, Captain STEELE, and others of BUTTON'S Club, I dared to found, and have since supported, our Society here; and seek to secure the benefits of it to my children and grandchildren." MAURICE JOHNSON, Esq. of Spalding, to Dr. BIRCH, Feb. 18, 1752; in the "Reliquiæ Galeanæ," p. 41.

N^o 12. THURSDAY, March 24, 1719-20.

Sunt testes viri clarissimi nostræ civitatis, quos omnes à me nominari non est necesse: eos qui adsunt appellabo, quos si mentirer, testes esse impudentiæ meæ minimè vellem. Sed quid ego his testibus utor, quasi res dubia aut obscura sit? Cic. in Verrem.

‘ There are witnesses, honoured judges, among our
 ‘ fellow-citizens, but it is not necessary that I should
 ‘ name them all; I appeal to such of them as are
 ‘ present, and if I said what was not true, I should
 ‘ be very loath to have them the witnesses of my
 ‘ falshood. But why should I use witnesses on this
 ‘ occasion, as if it was an affair either of dubiety
 ‘ or obscurity!’

AMBITION is that eager desire, which burns in our breasts, of additional power and honours, as Avarice is the thirst of swelling our fortunes to an immoderate degree. Upon the impulse of both these passions, we too frequently act to the injury of others, and as often, by an indiscreet pursuit of our game, lose more honour, than we could gain if we met with all the success we aimed at.

It happens, in the course of things, that we sometimes cannot attain the object of our wishes, without undermining some other in his fortunes, or hurting his reputation in the opinion of the Republick. Self-love, which
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promotes the most fordid views, counfels us to a thousand injuries and calumnies; which, if we cannot fupport them with fome vigour or artifice, revert upon ourfelves, and make us appear, in the height of our Ambition, the moft defpicable of mortals.

The Romans had a legal profecution amongft them, which they ftyled *Actio Repetundarum*; this fuit fometimes concerned the Conftitution, fometimes only private members of the Commonwealth. When it concerned the Conftitution, it was generally commenced on the noble grounds of detecting Bribery and Mal-adminiftration. The defire of appearing *rigidly juft*, made the Courts and Senate give moft ample countenance to fuch informations; but their wifdom had provided, by another law, that whoever fhould calumniate or forge a profecution againft another, was to be ftigmatized on his forehead, in token of infamy.

The terror of this opprobrious fentence did not always filence groundlefs clamours; the Lawyers were fometimes piqued at each other's credit at the bar, fometimes envied each other the profit of a powerful client. MARCUS FONTEIUS and AMBIVIVS TURPIO were both applied to, and liberally promifed, if they could procure a matter to be ratified by a Law. While each were grasping for the whole perquifites, which the clients defired to have divided between them, TURPIO begins a heavy charge of illegal practice againft FONTEIUS. The

pride and avarice of the person accused had laid him under so general an odium, that every body wished the matters objected might be proved against him; and the unusual humility that he shewed upon the occasion made it as generally suspected that he was guilty. TURPIO, on the other hand, won no small credit from the grace of his person and delivery: he thundered out his accusation in terms so emphatical and full of seeming proof, promised to produce such a cloud of witnesses that should make good his charge, and behaved with that air and assurance of victory, that there was scarcely a man in the whole court, who did not begin to blush for FONTEIUS. But such is the misfortune of malice when too flagrant! TURPIO overshot himself in the nature of his proofs; made his own prejudice stand in the place of testimony; and instead of discrediting the character of his adversary, left the Court to admire with what confidence he could abuse their patience with so *unsupported a calumny*. The Senate, however, so far discouraged the introduction of rash Laws, to the danger of the commonwealth, that they made an order, in imitation of the old Locrians, that the man who should propose to make any new Law should do it with a rope about his neck, in which he was forthwith to be strangled, if the Senate did not vote his Laws proper to be inrolled.

From my own Apartment, Tuesday, March 22.

In the Play-bill of last night, for Drury-lane Theatre, I saw something very well worth observing,

erving, and which, no doubt, did stir up the curiosity of all the *Beau Monde*. After the Play, it is expressed that there would be a Dramatic Entertainment in dancing, called “Orpheus and Eurydice,” with material alterations.

This entertainment, it seems, consists of a story, or plot, acted without speaking a single word, and writ by those masters in *dumb poetry*, whose understandings generally lay below their knees.

This thing was advertised to the Town with so much pomp, that I repent me I had not time to go and see it: nevertheless I congratulate the *Triumvirate* of that Theatre, for employing a genius to write their bills, who has given a specimen of his learning, and judgement, and eloquence, in chusing terms equal to the importance of the subject. Various were the conjectures of mankind, what these *material alterations* might allude to. But since its representation, some speculative gentlemen of my acquaintance have found out the secret. They assure me, that by the Lady EURYDICE is meant the *South Sea* stock, which was snatched away the Devil knows how, before she was enjoyed; that by ORPHEUS is meant her *Inamoratos*, who go down to Hell to recover her sinking Ladyship, but all in vain, for she is turned into a shade; after which he is torn to pieces by other jealous ladies, for fixing his heart upon a *shadow*. In this sort of poetry without words, the ingenious Authors will have opportunities of pleasing

the Town, since every man may understand it his own way; and I find that the gentlemen who explained the fable to me were no gainers by the above-mentioned Stock. This species of Drama seems to hit the humour of the times exactly; for I remember a Comedy, which was exploded at the THEATRE of which I have been speaking, but met with wonderful success on the other Stage, when it was transposed into this style; and it still continues to be acted with applause, under the title of “The Jealous Doctor.”

It is said, there are some new Dramatic Pieces of this kind, now composing, full of mysterious wit, and excellent satire; nor will the Authors come within the clutches of the Law for writing scandal. Amongst the rest, as I have been credibly informed, there is preparing a Dramatic Pantomime, called “The Quadruple Alliance,” and designed to be performed by the greatest masters in Europe. The Author, who has been two or three years on the composition, has not yet been able to please himself. The Dance is to be performed by *four*; the Figure to consist of various wild turns and changes, for which every party is to account in his own character; and the Dance to finish when they all meet, and agree to take hands. To keep the Composer’s fancy a little longer in play, it was contrived that a *fifth* person should stand peeping from behind the curtain in a *Cardinal’s* habit, who, when he observed

served them ready to make an end, was still to run into the Dance, and put them all out, by throwing *gold* about the Stage, which was to set them all to scrambling, so that they must be forced to begin the Figure again. But, since, the Author has turned the *man in the cap* out of the Dance, and it is likely to go on; only it is observed, that one *obstinate* performer, who dances in the habit of a *Dutch-skipper*, dodges, and perseveres to keep his hands in his pockets.

N° 13. MONDAY, March 29, 1720.

Res omnes nostræ aut necessarii, aut utilis, aut delectabilis genere comprehenduntur.

‘ All our concerns are comprehended under the different classes of necessity, usefulness, or delight.’

JUL. SCAL. on Poetry.

WHEN my leisure will permit me to turn over the Ancient Poets, it gives me no small entertainment to search with what difference of spirit and elegance they severally handle the same topick. *Description* is the field in which the Poet’s fire and fancy are most vigorously employed; and of all descriptions, those of *storms* and *tempests at sea* give the largest room for *thoughts* and *imagery*.

SCALIGER, who has taken some pains in this kind of comparing Authors, allows the
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preference to MUSÆUS, above all the other Greek Poets; and thinks some of his verses are so compleat and finished, that it seems impossible for them to have been produced by any other genius than that of MUSÆUS.

I must confess, without any prepossession from that Critick, the little Poem which we have remaining of this applauded Author, on the fatal passion of HERO and LEANDER, to me outweighs any the most beautiful Episode in HOMER, or even that tender incident in APOLLONIUS RHODIUS from which VIRGIL has copied “the Love of DIDO for ÆNEAS.” The beauty of HERO is painted in such lively colours, and the graces of her person and carriage displayed with such force and propriety, that you are obliged to suppose a VENUS; the sentiments of LEANDER are so strong and just, that your imagination warms with the Lover: in short, the whole is a fine History-piece, animated with the passions: it steals into your heart more and more as you read it, — *atque animum pictura pascit inani*, as VIRGIL says.

The general commendation, which I have entered into, of this Poem, has almost led me aside from the intention, with which I began, of mentioning the tempest in which LEANDER is drowned. Here all the powers of Nature, Oratory, Passion, and Poetry, are collected, to make the necessary impressions of horror. “The winter winds blow upon the water,” to make the storm the more formidable; “the vessels

“ make to shore to avoid the fury of the conflict-
 “ ing winds ; and there, dashed by the crowding
 “ billows, split against the place where they
 “ hoped for safety : the whole face of the sky
 “ is covered with a double night ; and the sea
 “ from its bottom groans with hoarse and hol-
 “ low murmurs. In vain, LEANDER attempts
 “ to buffet the tumultuous surge, in vain in-
 “ vokes the goddesses that sprang from the
 “ waves, and NEPTUNE himself, the ruler of
 “ the wide-spread ocean ; unaided, he floats on
 “ the backs of the unquiet billows ; neither the
 “ motion of his arms or feet can assist his pas-
 “ sage ; panting and overpowered, he drinks
 “ down the salt and impetuous flood, while
 “ the bitter wind blows out the unfaithful light
 “ that should have guided him, when, spent
 “ with struggling against the unruly storm, he,
 “ at a gasp, resigns his life and love.” But
 this description gives too faint an image of our
 Poet ; the majesty and happy choice of his
 terms, the fine compounds, that are weakened
 by a *periphrasis*, cannot be transfused or com-
 municated with half their force by a translation.

I cannot go entirely off from this subject,
 without taking some proper notice of a fatal
 accident, which must affect all the people of
 pleasure within the bills of mortality. It is
 reported, among our other late losses at sea,
 from stress of weather, the vessel is missing
 which bore the celebrated Signora DUROSTANTE,
 who was to have blessed this Isle and the Opera
 with

with the harmony of her voice. Whether any *gentlemen of the string* miscarried in the same bottom, we have yet no accounts on which we can depend.

It gives me some concern, when I reflect how prodigiously the *demise* of this unfortunate Lady must disconcert the measures of the *Musical Republick!* What councils, and what matter for debate, it must occasion to provide against a disappointment of such importance to their schemes! Should some opera of expectation at this juncture remain unfinished, can it be supposed that such a shock will not bewilder the Composer's head, and turn his style into what the Italians call an *extravaganza*? Should we have lost this glorious performer, as it is feared we have, it may be some satisfaction to the publick to know, that, by what I have heard from my correspondents abroad, she is the first of her race who has been eminent for singing. The male part of her family, who were of a rigid strain, and stood much on the honour of their house, employed their hours in more solid pleasures. It is surmised, therefore, that she had designed to steal this voyage, and (besides that the name of her family could not, with great decency, have been translated into our language) the better to remain *incognita*, was resolved to pass upon the Town under another title.

But this lamentable circumstance has detained me too long from inserting the epistle of a facetious

ctious Correspondent, who omits no opportunity of making himself public, and is not below the cognizance even of THE HALF-PENNY POST. I confess, I have no authority for the printing of this packet, but the consideration that it may turn to his account.

“ To the Worshipful Sir JOHN FALSTAFFE,
“ Knight, &c.

“ SIR,

“ I ASSURE you, upon the sincerity of a
“ Comedian, that I am both your courteous
“ Reader, and humble Admirer. This you
“ may believe; for, though I am forced to
“ speak other men’s jests, when I say a civil
“ thing it is generally my own. I have a great
“ desire to engage you to be my friend, and re-
“ commend me to the Town; and therefore
“ I take the liberty to inform you, that on next
“ Thursday will be acted, for the benefit of
“ *myself* and *Creditors*, a collection of Farces,
“ *after* the English *manner*; and as I am a cu-
“ rious observer of nature, and can see as much
“ with *one* eye, as others do with *both*; I think,
“ I have found out what will please the mul-
“ titude. You must understand, I have trans-
“ planted from the *Bear-garden* a certain diver-
“ sion, called a *prize*, in which I myself will
“ be the principal Actor; there is likewise to
“ be a fencing dance, called *quart* and *teirce*,
“ and

“ and all this for the entertainment of ROBIN-
 “ SON CRUSOE. I hope all the quality, that are
 “ friends to the *Bear-garden* and *polite* diversions,
 “ will favour this *medley* of my own choosing:
 “ you, no doubt, must have heard the fame of
 “ ROBINSON CRUSOE, who has distinguished
 “ himself by many strange and unaccountable
 “ stories, which your *smart fellows* in conver-
 “ sation are pleased to call *guns*. He is a very
 “ odd figure; and as *monsters* take very much
 “ with the Town, I flatter myself his presence
 “ will draw the *ladies*. Some of the females
 “ of our profession find ways of engaging cer-
 “ tain Courtiers to bring Crowned Heads to
 “ their plays; and, by publishing it in their
 “ bills, proclaim that a King is to be seen for
 “ a crown apiece; but I have it not in my
 “ power to oblige favourites, as they have:
 “ and cannot so much as influence OAKECHA-
 “ RINGA or TUSKEESTANAGEE to come *, un-
 “ less I would consent to pay for their presence.
 “ Besides, some ill-designing persons, who were
 “ not my friends, have reported about the Town,
 “ that I am a wit, which has spoilt my interest
 “ among the *pretty fellows*. I have tolerable
 “ good luck, and tickets rise apace, which makes
 “ mankind very civil to me; for I get up
 “ every morning to a levee of at least a dozen
 “ people, who pay their compliments, and ask

* “ The Two INDIAN KINGS took lodgings on Wednesday last at the Pennsylvanian Coffee-house in Birchin-Lane.” Hanover Postman, Feb. 20, 1719-20.

“ the

“ the same question, ‘ When they shall be
 “ paid?’ All I can say is, that wicked good
 “ company have brought me into this *imitation*
 “ of *grandeur*. I loved my friend and my jest
 “ too well to grow rich ; in short, Sir JOHN,
 “ Wit is my blind side ; and so I remain with
 “ respect, and without ceremony, Sir,

“ Your very humble servant,

“ JAMES SPILLER *.”

* A Comedian of great excellence, who may be considered as the SHUTTER of his day. He for several years acted at Lincoln’s-Inn Fields ; a man of dissipated and irregular life ; always in difficulties, and by these means lost the advantages of considerable talents. He had but one eye. The story told by RICOBONI of the young Actor whom he saw in London, and whose reputation of the old man was so admirable, related to this Actor. SPILLER was seized with an apoplectic fit on the Stage, January 31, 1730, while performing in “ The Rape of Proserpine,” and died on the 7th of February following.

* * This Day is published, “ A Word without Doors, or, a Paradox proving the Honour of deserving a KNIGHTHOOD exceeds the Title.” In two Letters (that lately passed betwixt a Clergyman of the Church of England, and Mr. JOHN DUNTON, the unrewarded Author of “ Neck or Nothing,” intituled, “ A Comparifon betwixt Sir RICHARD STEELE and Mr. JOHN DUNTON, with other Court Secrets which have hitherto been concealed.” Both published by the Clergyman’s special Order ; and the most material Discoveries in them prove to be matter of fact.

— *Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus* — JUV.

‘ Virtue can be rightly styled the only true Nobility.’

Fortunam superat virtus, prudentia fatum. MART.

‘ Virtue and Wisdom are above Fortune and Fate.’

Printed for S. Popping, in Pater-noster row, 1720. Price 6d.

N^o 14. THURSDAY; *March 13, 1720.*

— Βλέποντες ἔβλεπόν μάτην,
Κλίοντες ἐκ ἠκρόν· ἀλλ' ὄνειράτων

Ἄλιγκιοι μορφαῖσι.—ÆSCHYL. *Prometh. ver.* 445.

‘With eyes and ears they neither saw nor heard;
‘Like visionary phantoms of the night.’ MORELL.

———— ‘A confus’d report
‘Pass’d through my ears;
‘But full of hurry, like a morning dream,
‘It vanish’d in the business of the day.’ DRYDEN.

IT has been the received opinion of the wise, that all DREAMS proceed from *repletion* and *complexion*; the fumes of indigestion are sent upward to the brain, and there operate according to the nature of the humours that infect the blood, and depress or raise the animal spirits. The disease of the body, thus influencing the *reasonable* soul by night, has been the occasion, that Prophets and Astrologers have abused all times with such monstrous absurdities, which the impressions of their own *Dreams* made them believe to be real, and their credit with the world prevailed on them to impose on mankind. I am convinced by myself, as well as by conversing sometimes with the women, that we still have *Dreams* of indisposition among us, which,

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as HORACE defines them, are no ways of a piece with themselves; the matter of which they are *compounded*, and the form into which they are *shuffled*, if I may have Sir JOHN EDGAR's leave to use a hard word or two upon this subject, are so confused and heterogeneous.

I had scarcely thought this topick worth my handling, but that I myself have of late been troubled with idle *Dreams*. Methought I was got into a delightful climate, which, from the temperament of the air, the complexion of the inhabitants, and strange kind of trees and plants that the soil produced, I was convinced, could be no part of Europe. The ground which seemed to tremble under my feet, made me at first suspect I was transported into Ireland; but I found, to my satisfaction, that the happier soil belonged to the extended empire of *Fairyland*. I soon became acquainted with every thing in the place, a happiness peculiar to us when we dream; and was informed the people of these territories were under the dominion of the goddess CHIMERA. She, it seems, is something like the old Heathen DIANA (who would never be content with a single title), and got footing among her votaries there, by pretending to have been formerly that celebrated ASTRÆA, who had been turned out of her rights for offering to teach men a trick of justice.

I enquired as deeply as I could into their politicks, and got information, that the Crown

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was

was neither *hereditary* nor *elective*, but bestowed in a *capricious, tumultuary* manner. The Government, upon her accession, was pretty deep in debt; and many ambitious spirits advanced schemes and methods of making affairs easy; but she, upon the strength of an *imaginary* fund of wealth, undertook, if they would be subject to her direction, to disengage them from all their incumbrances *in a short term of years*.

One half of her subjects, unless it was an affectation in them, were very *short-sighted*, and continually gazed at her through a *magnifying* glass; which made her look, as we say, above two hundred *per cent.* bigger to them than to any common eye. These were so pleased with the object, and had formed such prepossessions to themselves of her power and intention to serve them, that they attended upon her, morning and night, with the utmost assiduity imaginable. Among them I could observe none more busy than those whom by their habits I knew to be the Priests of their country. And the very Judges, though they knew her to be an usurper, would not declare against her right, because they had all ventured something upon her bottom.

The other part of her subjects were a precise, deliberate herd, mightily opinionated of their own discernment, and prejudiced against the Goddess's proposals. These depended prodigiously upon the goodness of their fight; and though they kept at a great distance, and used

no glafs, confidently asserted, though the Goddess was but young, that she was *wrinkled* and *hollow-eyed*. They threw out many ill-natured invectives against her ability, that she had rather a design of amassing wealth, than contributing it to the publick, and that she would be found to be worth much less than she was rated at; but they vented their suspicions with so much inveteracy, that every body concluded them either very malicious, or very poor, and that they had nothing to venture.

For my own part, I grew so sanguine upon their reproaches, that I had resolved to buy the Goddess's favour *at the top of the market*; but, as I was shuffling to find my pocket-book, I waked in the hurry, and found the whole was nothing but a *Dream*.

It is pleasant to observe what a number of my countrymen are made extremely happy under the influence of Sleep. I know that many who frequent Exchange-Alley maintain, that there never was so much business and action, so much noise and hurry, or, as they say in French, such a *grand fracas*, as is seen at present upon the stage of traffick: yet I shall not scruple to assert to the world, that they are all *fast asleep*. Nay, I could name the Quack Doctor who invented the sleeping draught that has locked up their senses, and yet sets them in motion as if it were by clock-work. I know too, that some *hocus pocus* men on this side of the Channel pretended to have been the authors

of this medicine, though they only work by receipt: and in their harangues to the unthinking multitude, among other great encomiums of this secret, they have said, "Take but one strong potion of this *panacea*, and it will make you worth *fifty thousand* pounds." And their *Merry Andrews* have canted and wheedled the people so artfully, that many have drank largely of this *stupifying* liquor, and it is not unlikely but they may sleep on these twelve months.

I would not have any body dispute the probability of this, because I can prove from history, that one EPIMENIDES *slept* for fifty-seven years together; that, when he waked, he went into the city to look for his *house* and *estate*, and found that other strange people had got into possession of both. I lament that the Historian was not so particular to let us know what the Philosopher *dreamed* of all that while; by which we might have judged whether his *stupor* was of the same kind with ours. I am sure of one thing, that great numbers among us, who fancy themselves happy in the possession of vast fortunes, when the influence of the draught is over, and they come to wake, will find their *riches* but an "empty dream."

It is certain, that some of my own acquaintance do stiffly deny that they are asleep; upon which I, who am a close observer of human nature, cannot forbear smiling; for I never knew a drunken man, but who said he was sober;

fober; nor a lunatick, but would persuade you he was in his senses; neither will I believe any man living, that tells me he is awake, while I am convinced he is *asleep*, and talks to me in his *Dream*.

I hope the present condition that we are in will not be known abroad before the peace now depending be ratified; lest the Spaniards should be tempted to break off their negotiation, and take this opportunity of making another invasion, whereby they might catch us all *napping*.

But I comfort myself with this hope, that there may be some of our Ministers, who have not drank of this fashionable *hypnotick*, and will keep themselves awake for the good of their country. They will not be all like CUPROGLI BASSA, who sat in the Divan of Constantinople fifty years, and never spoke a word; but always *slept* over the affairs of state, and was *awaked* by the hurry of the council breaking-up, so went quietly out with the rest, and returned the next day to *sleep* again, according to custom.

N° 15. MONDAY, *April 4, 1720.*

Comœdias & Tragœdias otiosis damus ; nemo enim in Theatrum venit, qui non libens velit id temporis amittere.

‘ Our Comedies and Tragedies are such as are fit
 ‘ to be thrown away merely upon the IDLE ; for
 ‘ nobody now comes to the Play-house, but with an
 ‘ intention of losing so much time in life.’ SCAL.

THE institution of Scenical Entertainments, it is well known, was at first an act of Religion ; and the superstitious Pagans thought they did BACCHUS a signal honour when they made them a part of the rites in his worship. All ages have been apt, and willing enough, to rob the Gods of their perquisites, or to introduce novelties under the colour of sanctity, that they might have the countenance of the publick, when they should think fit to make some digressions of freedom. The old performers (to confirm us that nothing is new under the sun) could not long carry the face of too much Religion ; so that what was at first appropriated to the service of the Gods, by an easy declension sunk into a sacrifice to our *ration falaculties*.

It was pretty well with the world while the Poets were moral men, and tolerably good

Heathens: for the simplicity of the times, and their notion of public decency, made it one indispensable rule with them, to shew their Audience what nature *ought to be*, as well as what it *was*. Our refinements have altered our tastes and expectations; we have set reason and instruction aside in our pleasures; and curiosity and whim carry greater crowds to the Theatre than any desire or hope of being really entertained: we may, indeed, say with SCALIGER, upon most of the productions of our age, “ Our Comedies and Tragedies are such as are fit to be thrown away merely upon the IDLE* ; for nobody now comes to the Play-house, but with an intention of losing so much time in life.”

It is an old proverb, though a coarse one for an Author of my politeness, that “ they who will have a May-pole, shall have a May-pole.” The Player’s business is like the old man’s instruction to his son, “ still to get money ;” and this lays them under a reasonable obligation of striking-in with all false tastes, to increase their profit. The diversion of one of our Stages ran so low last season, that the company was forced to call in to their assistance a troop of French strollers, who were so happy as to give great satisfaction to those that did not understand them. The rival Play-house, I remember, took offence at this *prostitution* of the British Stage :

* See the THEATRE, N° II. p. 14, *note*.

though they themselves had the condescension, some few years before, to careſs a company of French *dancing dogs*, and their *gouvernante*, which increas'd the charge of their entertainments, but gave them an occaſion of raiſing their prices, becauſe it was for the ſupport of *two companies*.

I have a particular deference to the merit of my correſpondent Mr. SPILLER *, in the comic ſtyle; and I am convinc'd, by his late ſucceſs in his benefit, that he is ſome maſter in the art of diving into the taſte of the Town. I wonder other actors, who ſee how things run, do not hunt out for ſome *faſhionable extravagances* to make a flouriſh in their bills, and draw the eyes and expectations of chance customers. The kind regard which I have for theſe Theatrical Gentlemen makes me condole with them, that they ſhould ſuffer a private perſon to anticipate them in a *war dance* performed for the *benefit* of the *two American Princes* †. I ſhould have thought their *high birth* and *immense riches* would have made their *Highbneſſes* give this performance to the publick; but their *Interpreter*, who is an Engliſhman, and has ſtronger notions of fingering money, probably worked either upon their avarice or luxury, by telling them, that they might have a better dinner, and ſmoke a pipe extraordinary, if they would conſent to ſnack the profits of the entertainment. Had

* See p. 286.

† See p. 287.

this *Dance* appeared upon any of the Stages, it might have been matter of speculation for the *politicians*, since, no doubt its figure contained some mysteries of state and secrets of government, which might have turned to account among our *statesmen*, if not forwarded some scheme for *paying the debts of the nation*.

It was the particular sagacity of the late Mr. BOWEN *, of comic memory, when he had a benefit, to get it for the entertainment of some Morocco Ambassador, with half a dozen hard names, that were scarcely legible to the vulgar. My industrious friend, WILL. PENKETHMAN †, almost of comic memory too, and so much admired for his wisdom and his face, once luckily hit on a whim to please the million, which was of speaking an *epilogue* on an *elephant*. This gives me some shrewd opinion of his great learning which may not have been so obvious to the remark of others; for we may suppose

* BOWEN, who played Setter in "The Old Batchelor," Jeremy in "Love for Love," and Witwou'd in "The Way of the World," was a Comedian of some merit, remarkable for the loudness of his voice, and of a choleric disposition. He lost his life in a rencounter with QUIN, in which, before his death, he owned he had been the aggressor. QUIN was tried at the Old Bailey for it, and was honourably acquitted.

DAVIES'S Dramatic Miscellanies, vol. III. p. 356.

† WILL PENKETHMAN, of merry memory, was in such full possession of the Galleries, that he would hold discourse with them for several minutes. Some remarkable instances of it are given by Mr. DAVIES, vol. II. p. 88.

he

he had read, that, in NERO's time, an *elephant* ran down the *straight rope*, from a considerable height, with a Roman Knight sitting on his back.

I cannot dismiss this subject without taking notice of a remarkable passage much in the praise of *elephants*, and not less for the edification of *Actors*.

If we may believe PLINY, an Author never suspected of handing down untruths to posterity, one of these grave animals, who had somewhat a thicker head than the rest of his brethren, and was not so quick at taking the instructions given him, was found in the night-time, retired from all idle company, practising over the lesson of the day, and making up by his diligence for the slowness of his understanding. I would recommend the example of this prudential animal as a document to all young Actors, who expect to rise, and make a figure in their business. It will furnish them with this two-fold instruction; first, that it will be much better for them to study the Poet than the punch-bowl; and, in the next place, that night, of all other times, is the most proper season for helping their memories, and assisting themselves in the powers of action and elocution.

I would likewise advise the *heavy* generation of Authors now in being, to clap a spur to their genius, lest, as some strange things happen in every age, an elephant should take it in his head to *write a Play*, and get the start
of

of them in Poetry. This supposition will not appear so absurd as at first it seems, when I inform my Readers, that the same laborious *Naturalist*, whom I but now mentioned, tells us of an *elephant*, who wrote a very good hand in Greek, and was no small proficient in that language, which most of the *Playwrights* of our times do not think it worth their while to understand*.

* In the only set of the ANTI-THEATRE we have been able to discover (which is in the valuable Collection of EDMOND MALONE, esq.) the First Number is deficient; and whether any Paper was published after N^o XV. is not very certain.

STEELE closed his THEATRE on the 5th of April; and on the 8th the following Advertisement was inserted in "The Daily Post:"

"To-morrow will be published, the THEATRE, N^o XVI. By Sir JOHN FALSTAFFE. To be continued every Tuesday and Saturday, as usual. Sold by W. CHETWOOD, at Cato's Head under Tom's Coffee-house, Ruffel-street, Covent-garden; W. MEADOWS, in Cornhill; and W. BOREHAM, at the Angel in Pater-noster Row. Price 2d."

CIBBER'S STATEMENT

Of the CONDUCT of the THEATRE under the
PATENT granted to Sir RICHARD STEELE*.

UPON the death of the Queen, Plays (as they always had been on the like occasions) were silenced for six weeks. But this happening on the first of August 1714, in the long vacation of the Theatre, the observance of that ceremony, which at another juncture would have fallen like wet weather upon their harvest, did them now no particular damage. Their Licence, however, being of course to be renewed, that vacation gave the Managers time to cast about, for the better alteration of it: and since they knew the pension of seven hundred a year, which had been levied upon them for COLLIER, must still be paid to somebody, they imagined the merit of a Whig might now have as good a chance for getting into it, as that of a Tory had for being continued in it. Having no obligations, therefore, to COLLIER, who had made the last penny of them, they applied themselves to Sir RICHARD STEELE, who had distinguished himself by his zeal for the House of Hanover, and had been expelled the House

* See THEATRE, N^o VIII. p. 61.

of Commons, for carrying it (as was judged at a certain *Crisis*) into a reproach of the Government. This we knew was his pretension to that favour in which he now stood at Court. We knew too the obligations the Stage had to his Writings; there being scarcely a Comedian of merit, in our whole Company, whom his **TATLERS** had not made better, by his public recommendation of them; and many days had our House been particularly filled by the influence and credit of his pen. Obligations of this kind from a Gentlemen, with whom they all had the pleasure of a personal intimacy, the Managers thought could not be more justly returned, than by shewing him some warm instance of their desire to have him at the head of them. We therefore begged him to use his interest for the renewal of our Licence; and that he would do us the honour of getting our names to stand with his in the same commission. This, we told him, would put it still farther into his power of supporting the Stage in that reputation to which his *Lucubrations* had already so much contributed; and that therefore we thought no man had better pretences to partake of its success. Though it may be no addition to the favourable part of this Gentleman's character, to say with what pleasure he received this mark of our inclination to him, yet my vanity longs to tell you, that it surprized him into an acknowledgement, "that
 " people, who are shy of obligations, are cau-
 " tious

“tious of confessing.” His spirits took such a lively turn upon it, that, had we been all his own sons, no unexpected act of filial duty could have more endeared us to him.

It must be observed, then, that as COLLIER had no share in any part of our property, no difficulties from that quarter could obstruct this proposal. And, the usual time of our beginning to act for the winter-season now drawing near, we pressed him not to lose any time in his solicitation of this new Licence. Accordingly, Sir RICHARD applied himself to the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, the Hero of his heart; who, upon the first mention of it, obtained it of his Majesty for RICHARD, and the former Managers who were Actors. COLLIER we heard no more of.

The Court and Town being crowded very early in the winter-season, upon the critical turn of affairs, so much expected from the Hanover succession, the Theatre had its particular share of that general blessing, by a more than ordinary concourse of spectators.

About this time the Patentee, having very near finished his House in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, began to think of forming a new Company; and, in the mean time, found it necessary to apply for leave to employ them. By the weak defence he had always made against the several attacks upon his interest, and former government of the Theatre, it might be a question, if his house had been ready in the Queen's
time,

time, whether he would then have had the spirit to ask, or interest enough to obtain, leave to use it: but in the following reign, as it did not appear he had done any thing to forfeit the right of his Patent, he prevailed with Mr. CRAGGS the younger (afterwards Secretary of State) to lay his case before the King; which he did in so effectual a manner, that (as Mr. CRAGGS himself told me) his Majesty was pleased to say upon it, "That he remembered, "when he had been in England before, in "King CHARLES's time, there had been two "Theatres in London; and, as the Patent "seemed to be a lawful grant, he saw no "reason why two Play-houses might not be "continued."

The suspension of the Patent being thus taken off, the younger multitude seemed to call aloud for two Play-houses! Many desired another, from the common notion, that two would always create emulation in the Actors (an opinion, which I have considered in a former chapter*). Others too were as eager for them, from the natural ill-will that follows the fortunate, or prosperous, in any undertaking. Of this low malevolence we had now and then had remarkable instances; we had been forced to dismiss an Audience of a hundred and fifty pounds, from a disturbance spirited up by obscure people, who never gave any better reason

* See CIEBER's Apology, p. 255.

for it, than that it was their fancy to support the idle complaint of one rival Actress against another, in their several pretensions to the chief part in a new Tragedy. But as this tumult seemed only to be the wantonness of English liberty, I shall not presume to lay any farther censure upon it.

Now, notwithstanding this public desire of re-establishing two houses; and though I have allowed the former Actors greatly our superiors; and the Managers I am speaking of not to have been without their private errors: yet under all these disadvantages, it is certain, the Stage, for twenty years before this time, had never been in so flourishing a condition: and it was as evident to all sensible spectators, that this prosperity could be only owing to that better order, and closer industry, now daily observed, and which had formerly been neglected by our predecessors. But that I may not impose upon the reader a merit which was not generally allowed us, I ought honestly to let him know that about this time the public Papers, particularly MISR's Journal, took upon them very often to censure our management with the same freedom and severity as if we had been so many Ministers of State: but so it happened, that these unfortunate reformers of the world, these self-appointed Censors, hardly ever hit upon what was really wrong in us; but, taking up facts upon trust, or hear-say, piled up many a pompous paragraph, that they had ingeniously conceived

ceived was sufficient to demolish our administration, or, at least, to make us very uneasy in it; which, indeed, had so far its effect, that my equally injured brethren, WILKS and BOOTH, often complained to me of these disagreeable aspersions, and proposed, that some public answer might be made to them, which I always opposed by, perhaps, too secure a contempt of what such writers could do to hurt us; and my reason for it was, that I knew but of one way to silence Authors of that stamp; which was, to grow insignificant, and good for nothing, and then we should hear no more of them: but while we continued in the prosperity of pleasing others, and were not conscious of having deserved what they said of us, why should we gratify the little spleen of our enemies by wincing at it, or give them fresh opportunities to dine upon any reply they might make to our publicly taking notice of them? and though silence might in some cases be a sign of guilt, or error confessed, our accusers were so low in their credit and sense, that the content we gave the publick, almost every day from the Stage, ought to be our only answer to them.

However (as I have observed) we made many blots, which these unskilful Gamesters never hit; but the fidelity of an Historian cannot be excused the omission of any truth which might make for the other side of the question. I shall therefore confess a fact, which, if a happy accident had not intervened, had brought our af-

fairs into a very tottering condition. This too is that fact, which in a former chapter I promised to set forth as a sea-mark of danger to future Managers in their Theatrical course of Government.

When the new-built Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields was ready to be opened, seven or eight Actors, in one day, *deserted* from us to the service of the Enemy, which obliged us to postpone many of our best Plays, for want of some inferior part in them, which these *deserters* had been used to fill: but the indulgence of the Royal Family, who then frequently honoured us by their presence, was pleased to accept of whatever could be hastily got ready for their entertainment. And though this critical good fortune prevented, in some measure, our Audiences falling so low as otherwise they might have done, yet it was not sufficient to keep us in our former prosperity: for that year our profits amounted not to above a third part of our usual dividends; though in the following year we entirely recovered them. The chief of these *deserters* were KEENE, BULLOCK, PACK, LEIGH, son of the famous TONY LEIGH, and others of less note. It is true, they none of them had more than a negative merit, in being only able to do us more harm by their leaving us without notice, than they could do us good by remaining with us; for though the best of them could not support a play, the worst of them, by their absence, could maim it; as the
 loss

loss of the least pin in a watch may obstruct its motion. But to come to the true cause of their *desertion*: after my having discovered the (long unknown) occasion that drove DOGGET from the Stage before his settled inclination to leave it; it will be less incredible that these Actors, upon the first opportunity to relieve themselves, should all, in one day, have left us from the same cause of uneasiness: for, in a little time after, upon not finding their expectations answered in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, some of them, who seemed to answer for the rest, told me, "the greatest grievance they had in our Company was the shocking temper of WILKS, who, upon every (almost no) occasion, let loose the unlimited language of passion upon them, in such a manner as their patience was not longer able to support." This, indeed, was what we could not justify. This was a secret that might have made a wholesome paragraph in a critical Newspaper. But, as it was our good fortune that it came not to the ears of our Enemies, the Town was not entertained with their public remarks upon it.

After this new Theatre had enjoyed that short run of favour which is apt to follow novelty, their Audiences began to flag: but, whatever good opinion we had of our own merit, we had not so good a one of the multitude as to depend too much upon the delicacy of their taste; we knew too, that this Company being so much nearer to the City than we

were, would intercept many an honest customer, that might not know a good market from a bad one; and that the thinnest of their Audiences must be always taking something from the measure of our profits. All these disadvantages; with many others, we were forced to lay before Sir RICHARD STEELE, and farther to remonstrate to him, that as he now stood in COLLIER'S place, his pension of 700*l.* was liable to the same conditions that COLLIER had received it upon; which were, that it should be only payable during our being the only Company permitted to act; but in case another should be set up against us, that then this pension was to be liquidated into an equal share with us; and which we now hoped he would be contented with. While we were offering to proceed, Sir RICHARD stopped us short, by assuring us, that as he came among us by our own invitation, he should always think himself obliged to come into any measures for our ease and service: that to be a burthen to our industry would be more disagreeable to him than it could be to us; and as he had always taken a delight in his endeavours for our prosperity, he should be still ready, on our own terms, to continue them. Every one who knew Sir RICHARD STEELE in his prosperity (before the effects of his good-nature had brought him to distresses) knew that this was his manner of dealing with his friends - in business. Another instance of the same nature will immediately fall in my way.

When

When we proposed to put this agreement into writing, he desired us not to hurry ourselves; for that he was advised, upon the late *desertion* of our Actors, to get our Licence (which only subsisted during pleasure) enlarged into a more ample and durable authority, and which, he said, he had reason to think would be more easily obtained, if we were willing that a Patent for the same purpose might be granted to him only for his life, and three years after, which he would then assign over to us*. This was a prospect beyond our hopes, and what we had long wished for; for though I cannot say we had ever reason to grieve at the personal feverities or behaviour of any one Lord Chamberlain in my time, yet the several officers under them, who had not the hearts of Noblemen, often treated us (to use SHAKSPEARE'S expression) with all the *insolence of Office* that narrow minds are apt to be elated with; but a Patent, we knew, would free us from so abject a state of dependency. Accordingly we desired Sir RICHARD to lose no time. He was immediately promised it. In the interim we founded the inclination of the Actors remaining with us, who had all sense enough to know, that the

* The original authority under which STEELE acted as Supervisor of the Theatre Royal, and for which he received 700l. a year, was dated Oct. 18, 1714. The Patent which was granted to him during life, and to his executors, administrators, and assigns, for three years after his death, took place from Jan. 19, 1714-15.

credit and reputation we stood in with the Town, could not but be a better security for their salaries, than the promise of any other Stage, put into bonds, could make good to them. In a few days after, Sir RICHARD told us, "that his Majesty being apprized that others had a joint power with him in the Licence, it was expected we should, under our hands, signify, that his Petition for a Patent was preferred by the consent of us all." Such an acknowledgement was immediately signed, and the Patent thereupon passed the Great-Seal; for which, I remember, the Lord Chancellor COWPER, in compliment to Sir RICHARD, would receive no fee. We received the Patent January 19, 1715; and (Sir RICHARD being obliged the next morning to set out for Boroughbridge in Yorkshire, where he was soon after elected a Member of Parliament) we were forced that very night to draw up in a hurry (till our counsel might more adviseably perfect it) his assignment to us of equal shares in the Patent, with further conditions of partnership. But here I ought to take shame to myself, and at the same time to give this second instance of the equity and honour of Sir RICHARD; for this assignment (which I had myself the hasty penning of) was so worded, that it gave Sir RICHARD as equal a title to our property as it had given us to his authority in the Patent: but Sir RICHARD notwithstanding, when he returned to town, took no advantage of the mistake, and

con-

consented in our second agreement to pay us 1200*l.* to be equally entitled to our property, which at his death we were obliged to repay (as we afterwards did) to his executors; and which, in case any of us had died before him, the survivors were equally obliged to have paid to the executors of such deceased person, upon the same account. But Sir RICHARD's moderation with us was rewarded with the reverse of COLLIER's stiffness: COLLIER, by insisting on his pension, lost 300*l.*; and Sir RICHARD, by his accepting a share in lieu of it, was, one year with another, as much a gainer.

The grant of this Patent having assured us of a competent term to be relied on, we were now emboldened to lay out larger sums in the decorations of our plays. Upon the revival of DRYDEN's "All for Love," the habits of that Tragedy amounted to an expence of near six hundred pounds; a sum unheard-of for many years before on the like occasions. But we thought such extraordinary marks of our acknowledgement were due to the favours which the Publick were now again pouring in upon us. About this time we were so much in fashion and followed, that our enemies (who they were, it would not be fair to guess, for we never knew them) made their push of a good round lye upon us, to terrify those Auditors from our support whom they could not mislead by their private arts or public invectives. A current report, that the walls and

roof of our house were liable to fall, had got such ground in the Town, that, on a sudden, we found our Audiences unusually decreased by it. WILKS was immediately for denouncing war and vengeance on the author of this falsehood, and for offering a reward to whoever could discover him. But it was thought more necessary first to disprove the falsehood, and then to pay what compliments might be thought adviseable to the Author. Accordingly, an order from the King was obtained, to have our tenement surveyed by Sir THOMAS HEWET, then the proper officer; whose report of its being in a safe and sound condition, and signed by him, was published in every News-paper*.

This

* The Report of Sir THOMAS HEWETT, Surveyor of his Majesty's Works, to his Grace the Duke of NEWCASTLE, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, relating to the Play-house in Drury-lane, is as followeth; viz.

“ MY LORD, *Scotland-yard, Jan. 21, 1721.*

“ In obedience to his Majesty's commands signified to
 “ me by your Grace the 18th instant, I have surveyed the
 “ Play-house in Drury-lane; and took with me Mr.
 “ RIPLEY, Commissioner of his Majesty's Board of
 “ Works, the Master Bricklayer, and Carpenter. We
 “ examined all its parts with the greatest exactness we
 “ could; and found the Walls, Roofing, Stage, Pit,
 “ Boxes, Galleries, Machinery, Scenes, &c. found, and
 “ almost as good as when first built; neither decayed, nor
 “ in the least danger of falling; and when some small
 “ repairs are made, and an useles Stack of Chimnies
 “ (built by the late Mr. RICH) taken down, the Building
 “ may continue for a long time, being firm, the Materials
 “ and

This had so immediate an effect, that our spectators, whose apprehensions had lately kept them absent, now made up our losses, by returning to us with a fresh inclination, and in greater numbers.

“ and Joints good, and no part giving way ; and capable to bear much greater weight than is put on them.

“ My LORD DUKE, Your GRACE’S

“ Most humble and obedient servant,

THOMAS HEWETT.

N. B. The Stack of Chimnies mentioned in this Report “ (which were placed over the Stone Passage leading to the “ Boxes) are actually taken down.”

CIBBER'S DEDICATION to "XIMENES, OR
"The Heroic Daughter, a Tragedy, 1719."

To Sir RICHARD STEELE.

SIR,

Sept. 29, 1719.

WHILE the world was under the daily correction and authority of your *Lucubrations*, their influence on the publick was not more visible in any one instance than the sudden improvement (I might say reformation) of the Stage that immediately followed them: from whence it is now apparent, that many Papers (which the grave and severe then thought thrown away upon that subject) were, in your speaking to the THEATRE, still advancing the same work, and instructing the same world in miniature; to the end, that whenever you thought fit to be silent, the Stage, as you had amended it, might, by a kind of substituted power, continue to posterity your peculiar manner of making the improvement of their minds their public diversion.

Nothing but a GENIUS so universally revered could, with such candour and penetration, have pointed out its faults and misconduct, and so effectually have redeemed its uses and excellence

lence from prejudice and disfavour. How often have we known the most excellent Audiences drawn together at a day's warning, by the influence or warrant of a single TATLER, in a season when our best endeavours without it could not defray the charge of the performance! This powerful and innocent artifice soon recovered us into fashion, and spirited us up to think such new favour of our Auditors worthy of our utmost industry: and it is to that industry, so instructed, the Stage now owes its reputation and prosperity: and therefore, as I have heard you say (which I hope will justify my repeating it), "to talk of suppressing the Stage, because
 " the licentiousness, ignorance, or poverty, of
 " its former professors may have abused the pro-
 " per ends of its institution, were, in Morality,
 " as absurd a violence, as it would be in Religion
 " to silence the pulpit, because sedition or trea-
 " son has been preached there:" and though for the same reason our ancient Legislature may have been justly provoked to mention such Actors in terms of ignominy, yet that ought no more to be a reproach to his Majesty's present Company of Comedians, than it is to the Patriots of old Rome, that their first founders were robbers and outlaws.

After such benefits received, what less return could the gratitude and interest of the Actors think of, than to intreat You to join in their petition to the Crown, to set you at their
 head,

head*, that you might as justly partake of the profits as the praise and merit of supporting them? How much You have done for us was visible to all the world, what sense we have of it is yet known to few; I therefore take this occasion to make our acknowledgments, if possible, as public as our obligations.

The good you have done mankind gives every sensible heart a double delight; that of the benefit itself, and the pleasure of thanking you: and yet, if we consider the world as one person, we cannot but say it has been ungrateful to you: had *public spirit* been the measure of *public bounty*, it had been no Court-secret, how you had so suddenly run into an affluence of fortune; every peasant might have accounted for that, though the speculations of a gentleman may be puzzled at the contrary. But when a *private* man, in the service of his country, exerts a genius and courage that would better become his *superiors*, we are not to wonder, if (in right of their precedence) neglect or envy should reprimand his forwardness into manners and modesty; he is to be talked to in another style than he thinks of, and is to know the dignity of office is so sacred in its nature, that it is a sort of influence for a man to be wise before he comes into it; that great actions are not to thrust themselves into public service without order or direction; they ought pro-

* See pp. 301, 308.

perly,

perly, and only, to come from the hands of high birth or station; and the honour of our national spirit is not to be fullied, by owing its greatest instances to the ignoble head or heart of a Commoner. Would not one think, Sir, from your situation in the world, all this had been said to you? But so it is, when a man's services are too eminent for his station, that eminence is generally his reward; he then stands the public gaze of passengers, like a mountain in a meadow, *deserted, poor, and thirsty*, while the lands below him are watered into *fatness and plenty*. Had it been your humble choice to have lain in the common *level* of merit, your crop had of course been as full as your neighbours. But if you think the world is to go out of its road for you, you will be told, "nobody
 " can help your being in the wrong; you have
 " had examples enough before you that might
 " have warned you into wiser observations." Did not the celebrated Author of HUDIBRAS bring the King's enemies into a lower contempt with the sharpness of his wit, than all the terrors of his administration could reduce them to? Was not his book always in the pocket of his Prince? And what did the mighty prowess of this Knight-errant amount to? Why—he died with the highest esteem of the Court—in a garret. Might not the corruption of those times have farther informed you too, that though a man had all the spirit and capacity of an ancient Roman for the service

vice of his country; yet if he would not enslave those talents to the will and dominion of some great Leader in the state, if he would not privately list in his troop, and implicitly obey orders, he was treated at best as a mutineer, and came off well if he was only cashiered, and made incapable of future preferment? Such, Sir, was then the language and practice of the world; and how much soever it may be mended now, it gives but a melancholy reflection to know, that while in the late reign you were warmly supporting our staggering hopes of the Protestant Succession, the enemies of it, then in power, were subtle enough to offer you a security of fortune only to be *silent*—an uncomfortable account—that even the *forbearance of a virtue* should be worth more than the *use* of it.

But I am not to forget, there has been a circumstance in your merit too, that could have happened to no man but yourself. To say you had hazarded your life, or fortune, for the service of your country, were but to allow you praise in common with thousands that have done the same: but when we consider how *amiable a fame* you sacrificed to its interests, it would be barbarous not to inquire into the value of it. How long and happily did OLD ISAAC triumph in the universal love and favour of his Readers? The grave, the chearful, the wise, the witty, old, young, rich, and poor, all sorts, though ever so opposite in character, whether beaux or bishops, rakes or men of business,

finers, coquets or statesmen, whigs or tories, all were equally his friends, and thought their tea in a morning had not its taste without him. Thus, while You appeared the *agreeable Philosopher* only, mankind by a general assent came into your applause and service; and yet, how in a moment was this calm and unrivalled enjoyment blown into the air, when the apprehension of your country's being in a flame called upon you to resign it, by employing the same spirit of conviction in the restless office of a *Patriot*! For no sooner did you rise the champion of our insulted Constitution, than one half of the nation (that had just before allowed you the proper *Censor* of our morals) in an instant denied you to have had either *wit, sense, or genius*; the *Column* they had been two years jointly raising to your reputation, was then, in a few days, thrown down by the implacable hands that raised it. But when they found no attacks of prejudice could deface the real beauty of your Writings, and that they *still* recovered from the blow, their malice then indeed was driven to its last hold, of giving the chief merit of them to another great Author, who they allowed had never so audaciously provoked them: this was indeed turning your own cannon upon you, and making use of your private virtue to depreciate your character; for had not the diffusive benevolence of your heart thought even *fame* too great a good to be possessed *alone*, you would never (as you confessed in the Preface to

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those

those works) have taken your nearest friend into a share of it: a man of *modern prudence* would have considered a *fame so peculiar*, as a mistress whom *his services* only had deserved; and would have maturely deliberated, before he trusted her constancy in private, with the dearest friend upon earth. Your enemies, therefore, thus knowing that your own consent had partly justified their insinuations, saved a great deal of their malice from being ridiculous, and fairly left you to apply to such your singular conduct, what MARK ANTONY says of OCTAVIUS in the Play—

- ‘ Fool that I was ! upon my *Eagle’s* wings
 ‘ I bore this *Wren* *, till I was tired with soaring,
 ‘ And now, he mounts above me—’ DRYDEN.

Nothing is more common among the prudent men of this world, than their admiration that you will not (with all your talents) be guided to the proper steps of making your fortune: as if that were the *non ultra* of happiness: can they suppose that flattery, deceit, and treachery, or the perpetual surrender of our reason, will, and freedom, to the convenience and passions of others, with a train of the like abject ser-

* The following satirical lines, occasioned by this passage, were printed in “MIST’S JOURNAL,” Oct. 31, 1719.

- “ Thus COLLEY CIBBER greets his Partner STEELE,
 “ See here, Sir Knight, how I’ve outdone CORNEILLE !
 “ See here, how I, my Patrons to inveigle,
 “ Make ADDISON a Wren, and you an Eagle!
 “ Safe to their silent shades we bid defiance,
 “ For living Dogs are better than dead Lions.”

vilities,

vilities, if your spirit could stoop to them, are not as soon attained to as their contrary virtues; and that consequently it is much easier to *make* a fortune, than to *deserve* one? Such men can never know how much the conscious transport of having done their duty is preferable to all the mean, unwieldy pomp of arrogant and unmerited prosperity.—But let them hug themselves, and count their happiness by their sums of gold; Yours is to know, the service you have done your country has contributed to their being secure in the possession of it, and that such (however unfashionable actions) are (like their gold) intrinsically valuable only for their weight, which can neither rise nor fall from the stamp of favour, or discouragement. And that these men may not suppose you did not, as well as the wisest of them, foresee this barren consequence of your endeavours, I shall beg leave to quote a prophetic instance to the contrary, which you published in N^o II. of a Paper, called “The Reader,” in the year 1714.

“ There was a certain husbandman, in a certain
 “ kingdom, who lived in a certain place, under a cer-
 “ tain hill, near a certain bridge. This poor man
 “ was a little of a scholar, and given to country learn-
 “ ing; such as astrological predictions of the weather,
 “ and the like. One night, in one of his musings
 “ about his house, he saw a party of soldiers, belong-
 “ ing to a prince in enmity with his own, coming to-
 “ wards the bridge: he immediately ran and drew up
 “ that part which is called the draw-bridge; and
 “ calling

“ calling all his family, and getting his cattle together, he put his plough, behind that his stools, and his chairs behind them, and by this means stopped the march till it was day-light, when all the neighbouring lords and gentlemen saw the enemy as well as he. They crowded on with great gallantry to oppose the foe, and in their zeal and hurry throwing our husbandman over-bridge, and his goods after him, effectually kept out the invaders. This accident (says my author) was the safety of that kingdom; yet no one ought to be discomfited from the public service for what had happened to this rustick; for though he was neglected at the present, and every man said he was an honest fellow, that he was no one's enemy but his own in exposing his all, and that nobody said he was every one's friend but his own, the man had ever after the liberty, that he, and no other but he and his family, should beg on that bridge in all times following.”

Had You not published this prediction so many years ago, the art or malice of men might have insinuated, that the hope of some farther reward, than that of the action itself, had been the motive to Your zeal for the then endangered *Protestant Succession*..

But, alas! I fear I am running into the same public-spirited rashness; it being impossible to speak truth of You, without giving shame to others, who may not perhaps have your talent of easily forgiving whatever is honest in its intention: I shall therefore beg leave to subscribe myself, Sir, your most devoted humble servant,

COLLEY CIBBER.

The

The CHARACTERS and CONDUCT of

Sir JOHN EDGAR,

CALLED BY HIMSELF

Sole MONARCH of the STAGE in *Drury-Lane* ;

And his THREE DEPUTY GOVERNORS.

In Two Letters to Sir JOHN EDGAR*.

*Quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
Æstuat, & vitæ disconvenit ordine toto,
Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundas.*

HOR. I Ep. i. 98.

‘ If, through th’ unequal tenor of my life,
‘ My passions jar, and are so much at strife,
‘ That now I build, now level to the ground,
‘ And change by turns each square into a round ;
‘ This you esteem a madness !’ DUNCOMBE.

To Sir JOHN EDGAR.

Sir JOHN,

Jan. 19, 1719-20.

THE World has a long time wondered that you, who have so many years endeavoured to pass for a person of the greatest probity of the age, should constantly chuse to go by an

* These Letters were written by JOHN DENNIS, whose irritability, acrimony, insolence, and malignity in conversation and writing, subjected him to the chastisements of all the Authors of his time ; who have preserved him from oblivion in the pickle of their ridicule, and hung him up to everlasting infamy, bleeding all over with the never-closing gashes that offended Wit and Genius only can give.

Alias, which is almost always an infallible sign of a Knave. But, notwithstanding your setting forth in disguise during this season of *Masquerades*, I no sooner took up your Paper, but I found several as distinguishing marks of your mind, as your Black Peruke and your Dusky Countenance are of your Right Worshipful Person. The pedantry of your *Motto*, the singularity of your style, which has a smack of *Tiperarian*, as *LIVY*'s had of *Patavinity*; your impertinent praise of your Son, your diffusive description of him, of his person, his parts, his addrets—" *id populus curat scicilet*"—and, above all, that characteristical stroke of vanity, where you tell us, "that you are very well entertained, in an Assembly, where those who in other conversations pass for fine Gentlemen and fine Ladies would be uninformed Savages;" all these denote you to be *a certain person*, whom the King has graciously vouchsafed to *knight*; and who has since, with wonderful goodness, modesty, wisdom, and gratitude, bewailed in public that his Majesty has been so gracious.

Well! my dear Knight, thou seest I have found thee out; and, having found thee to be my old acquaintance, I may make a little more free with thee than if thou wert a mere Stranger. Yet, however I may dislike thy design, I cannot but commend the greatness of thy spirit; who, being a *Knight* in reality, wilt no longer be a *Squire*, not even in *Masquerade*,
which

which has more than once obliged a Dutchess to dwindle into a Dairy-maid; but art resolved, like a true man of Honour, to be tenacious of it alone and in the dark.

But it is time to come to the business. You say, “you are engaged, by the generous concern of an old Lady, to undertake in this public manner the preservation and improvement of the English Stage.” If I presume now to give you a little wholesome advice, will not you be angry?

Lay aside this foolish design. You have neither capacity, nor learning, nor authority, for such an undertaking. What! do you pretend to set up for a preserver and improver of the public taste? You, who have done more to corrupt it, and to destroy it, than any hundred men in all England? You, of whose errors in judgment, in your *Lucubrations* and *Speculations*, one might compile whole volumes? You, by your criticisms, and by your conduct, have brought the Stage to a sort of a *Losing Loadum*, where they who write worst are sure to succeed best? Once more, I say, lay aside this foolish design, or rather this foolish pretence, for it is not your design to improve any thing, but your own Privy-purse, Sir JOHN; and you have been twenty years in improving that, and are just where you began; so unlucky you are at improving, Sir JOHN. The truth of the matter is

this: You, and your Viceroy CIBBER*, and the rest of your Deputy Governors, have got the ill-will of the Court and Town, by exerting several noble qualities, too well known both to Court and Town, to be mentioned here. Now, your interests being dependent on each other, and as it were the same, you have concerted and contrived between you, like to BESSUS and the brothers of the Sword, to play the game into each other's hands; so to retrieve your interests, and your false reputations, and to cast a mist before the eyes of those who never were clear-sighted. In order to this, you are to cry them up for accomplished Actors, and for inoffensive irreproachable persons; and they are to extol you to the skies, for a noble-minded, bright, and most generous Patron; and CIBBER is to place you among the Gods, as the Romans did their Emperors, by making you fly like an *Eagle* † to them.

There is not one of those few Readers, who have vouchsafed to read the Papers called "The THEATRE," but see through the design of them; while you and your Deputies, like four Babies, put your fingers before your eyes,

* In the Muses Gazette, "N^o I," published March 12, 1719-20, the Author thinks proper to sneer at the times when "Sir RICHARD and COLLEY CIBBER are props of the Stage;" and to question, "what right Button's Coffee-house has to the decision of wit and good sense, though Sir JOHN EDGAR or CYBERNI be Chairmen."

† See above, p. 320.

and,

and, being blind yourselves, fancy that nobody else can see. For do but consider with what intolerable blunders you begin: "You doubt not," you say, "but you shall bring the World into your opinion, that the profession of an Actor, who in the other part of his conduct is irreproachable, ought to receive the same kind treatment which the World is ready to pay all other Artists." I will not quarrel with you about your *English* here. I shall let that alone till the end of the Letter. At present I shall only take notice of *things*. You must give me leave at present only to tell you, that you are running a way that is quite counter to the improvement of the Stage: for, to improve the Stage, it would be necessary to admonish your Deputies to mend their faults, and to augment their talents; whereas you are for annihilating the first, and magnifying to such a degree the last, as to imply that there is no room for improving them. But the truth of the matter is, that though the conduct of your Actors were irreproachable, which nobody will affirm but yourself, and their talents in their kind incomparable, which neither they nor you believe; yet would they by no means be equal to some other Artists.

Yet this paradox you pretend to maintain by the authority of CICERO. As if the greatest authority in the world could signify any thing against reason and experience, which are both against you, as we shall shew anon. I shall at

present maintain, that the authority of CICERO is as much against you as either reason or experience.

To shew you that I am resolved to agree with you as much as I possibly can, I will not quarrel with the sense of your pretended quotation from CICERO. I will only quarrel with the application of it. CICERO, you say, observes, in the first Book of his Offices, “That persons are to be esteemed genteel or servile, according as the arts or capacities in which they are employed are liberal or mechanical. He esteems those liberal, in which the faculties of the mind are chiefly employed; and those mechanical, in which the Body is the more laborious Part*.” Now, from hence you are pleased to infer, that the employment of an Actor depending upon the labour of the mind, more than that of the body, a good Actor ought as much to be valued and esteemed as any other Artist whatever; a very surprising inference! for, to convince you that this passage of CICERO can never be serewed nor tortured to the advantage of Actors, that Orator, in his Oration for ARCHIAS the Poet, asserts, in the compass of four lines, what is contradictory of each of the branches of the aforesaid inference; for, speaking of the concern which the Romans had lately shewn for the death of ROSCIUS, he thus argues from it, to the advantage of AR-

* See THEATRE, N° I. p. 7.

CHIAS: *Ergo ille corporis motu tantum amorem conciliarat à nobis omnibus ; nos animorum incredibiles motus, celeritatemque ingeniorum negligemus?*

Now here the Roman Orator, plainly asserts two things ; first, that the employment of an Actor depends more upon the body than upon the mind ; and, secondly, that the esteem which we ought to have, even for an excellent, inoffensive, irreproachable Actor, is infinitely less than what we ought to have for several other Artists. By the way, we shall take occasion to convince you anon, that excellent, inoffensive, irreproachable Actors are now-a-days black swans.

But suppose we should allow that the employment of an Actor depends more on the mind than it does on the body ; is it not monstrous to conclude from thence, that an Actor ought to be as much esteemed as any other Artist whatever ? The employment of a Pedant certainly depends more upon the mind than it does on the body : but shall we infer from thence, that a Pedant ought to be as much esteemed an accomplished Divine, or a consummate Statesman ?

But you are pleased, Sir JOHN, to proceed to still greater wonders. “ For,” say you, “ if
 “ there be no objection against what the Orator
 “ says, that men are to be considered only from
 “ their abilities” (by the way, the Orator never said any thing like it) ; “ let their severest
 “ enemies name the profession, which requires
 “ qualifications for the practice of it, more ele-
 “ gant,

“gant, more manly, more generous, and more
 “ornamental, than that of a just and pleasing
 “Actor.” That is to say, in plain English,
 that a just and pleasing Actor has qualifications
 as elegant, as manly, as generous, and as or-
 namental, as any one of any profession what-
 ever. That is to say, that DOGGET and BEN
 JONSON, being just and pleasing Actors, have
 qualifications as elegant, as manly, as generous,
 as ornamental, as ever had formerly Archbishop
 TILLOTSON, or my Lord Chancellor BACON.

Now, Sir JOHN, can you forbear laughing,
 upon the reading this, at the repetition of your
 own extravagance? But, besides that all this is
 monstrously and ridiculously false, and the re-
 verse of common-sense, you knock your own
 pretended design on the head, which is, the im-
 provement of the British Stage; and are the
 very worst enemy that the Actors can possibly
 have: for, by augmenting the pride of these
 people by your vain assertions, you are sure at
 the same time to augment their insolence, their
 impudence, their ignorance, and their arro-
 gance; which will render them absolutely un-
 improveable, and bring them further into dis-
 grace with the Court and Town, till they be-
 come at last insupportable. Therefore it is plain,
 from your taking this method, that either you
 do not design the improvement of the Stage,
 notwithstanding your pretence; or that you do
 not understand it.

But

But I, who really and sincerely intend the improvement of the Stage, will shew, that I understand it better than you; and will be a better friend to these people, by shewing them what they really are, and by that means rendering them humble, and consequently docile and improveable: for I pretend to shew both you and them, that Actors are so far from having the great qualities of extraordinary men, that they have not the understanding and judgement of ordinary Gentlemen, because they have not had their education.

I defy any one to name so much as one great Actor in my time, who had had a generous education; that is, who had from his youth been trained up to Arts and Sciences. Nor do I know of any one great Actor, since the establishment of the Stage in England, who had extraordinary parts.

SHAKSPEARE, indeed, had great parts; but he was not a great Actor.

OTWAY and LEE had both education and parts: but they were wretched Actors; which soon obliged them to quit the Stage, and take up a nobler employment.

There cannot be a more certain sign of the meanness of Actors' capacities, than their being the worst judges in the world of the very things about which they are eternally employed. And the present Actors, who are the Managers of the Play-house, have given all the world an irrefutable proof, that they have still less know-
ledge

ledge of Plays than had any of their predecessors. For have not they turned Bookfellers *mal à propos*, and given a hundred and twenty pounds for the copy of a Play, for which none of their predecessors would have given five pounds? Perhaps they may say, that they depended upon the interest of the Author, and a numerous cabal; a very foolish dependance! and which sets in a full light their want of understanding. For though the interest of an Author, and a numerous cabal, may go a great way towards a Theatrical success; they will be so far from availing a Bookfeller, that, on the contrary, the publishing of a damned Play, which has had success upon the Stage, is very certain to put an end even to that success.

The very employment of an Actor makes him less capable of understanding Plays, than those who have other affairs and other diversions. For as a Sot and a Rake, who runs from tavern to brandy-shop, from brandy-shop to tavern, and is continually swilling, deadens his palate, and depraves his taste to that degree that he is utterly incapable of distinguishing between brewed and sophisticated liquors and the pure and generous juice of the grape; so Players, who are always swallowing their parts, and getting by rote with equal application, and equal earnestness, what a person who has a noble genius produces, and what a wretched poetaster scribbles, become utterly incapable of distinguishing between the pure and golden stream

stream that flows from the immortal fountain of Hippocrene, and that which springs from a muddy source.

Their fordid love and greediness of gain contributes not a little to corrupting their understandings: for when a foolish Play happens to *have a run*, as they call it, their fordid temper inclines them to believe it good; it immediately becomes what they call a *Stock-play*, and is regarded as a standard.

If you can gain so great a point as to make Players pass for men of great abilities, and for inoffensive, irreproachable persons, you will stem a strong current, which has prevailed in the world for above two thousand years. At Rome, during the purity of the Commonwealth, they were accounted infamous; and the Censors of the Republick never failed to remove them from the tribe in which they found them, to a lower. In France, they are always excommunicated; and no priest will or dares to absolve them, till they are in the article of death. Here in England they have always been looked upon as Vagabonds and Rogues by Statute; unless they have been under the protection of our Kings; or of some of our English Peers. Yet, in this last case, I have been credibly informed, that, for great misdemeanors, they have been sent to Whitehall, and whipt at the Porter's Lodge. And I have heard Jo. HAINES more than once ingenuously own, that he had been whipt twice there.

If

If CIBBER, in the Days of King JAMES or King CHARLES the First, had dared to treat a Lord Chamberlain with half the insolence that he has lately done the present, he would have been made an errant Bull-beggar: his bones would have been as bloody as his head is raw.

I have now shewn you what the sense of the best and wisest nation is, and has been, with relation to ACTORS. If I may be allowed to speak my own, I am inclined to believe that good ACTORS, as long as they are irreproachable in the rest of their conduct, ought to be encouraged and esteemed as *ACTORS*, not as *Gentlemen*, nor as *persons* who have a thousand times their merit: but that even the best ACTORS, with the most unblameable conduct, are never to be trusted with power. The trusting people with power, who have neither birth nor any education, is sure to make them insolent, not only to Poets by whose labours they live, but to persons of the very first quality in England.

Besides what has happened lately, I remember the time in a former reign, when three Peers of England, a Duke, and two Earls, both the one and the other some of the most illustrious of their respective benches, wanted power to get one poor Comedy * acted; a certain insolent, impertinent ACTOR, who has lately revived his insolence with large additions, had

* Q. What Comedy was this?

(through

(through old RICH's weakness, whom he led by the nose) power to withstand them all.

Well then, Sir JOHN, I would have good Actors, as long as they are inoffensive, esteemed and encouraged as Actors; that is, as the tools, and instruments, and machines of the Muses, as the apes of a Poet's meaning, and the echos and parrots of his voice. But, if they once dare to grow insolent, if they behave themselves like beggars on horseback, and not only ride furiously as soon as they are up, but endeavour to ride over those very persons who but the moment before mounted them; they ought to be used like Indians who run a-muck in their own country, or like dogs who run mad in ours.

I come now to consider Actors in particular, as they are at present upon the English Stage; which, you say, you prefer to any other in Europe. I will not dispute that with you, because it signifies nothing to the purpose. But has the English Stage made an improvement, since it has been under the intendency of this separate Ministry? Has it not vilely degenerated? Are there either the great Actors that were upon it thirty years ago; or any such new, entertaining Comedies as from time to time appeared upon it? Is there any promise of a future Poet? Is there any promise of a future Actor? No: all is going to ruin: the Stage is sinking under you; and there is no hope of saving it but by
gett-

getting it out of the hands of the separate Ministry.

I know very well, that the present Managers of the Stage, empty by nature, and vain by success, value themselves abundantly upon their crowded Audiences. But how little discernment, nay, how little common sense is required, to know that their full Audiences are only the effects of the numbers of their Spectators, increased by several great events which have happened of late years; as the Revolution, the Union, the King's Accession to the Crown, and the return of our Armies from the Continent! This is the only reason why the Audience are fuller than they were formerly, when they were far better entertained.

But, while the Stage is thus sinking under you, by the conduct of your Deputies and your own, you are bragging that they will exalt it higher than those of the Grecians and Romans; like a frank Godfather, you promise and vow strange things in their names; which, like most other godfathers and other godchildren, neither they nor you will ever keep or perform. But is there any thing, in the course of nature, that can encourage you to make such a promise? For, you may take my word for it, the world has done taking you for a conjurer, and is come to believe that you deal with the Devil only, like other sinners. Is there then any thing in the course of nature, that can encourage you to make such a promise? Is ruin be-
come

come the road to exaltation? or must the Stage be buried, like a plant, in order to rise and flourish?

But, Sir JOHN, I am heartily sorry, for your sake, that you made any mention of the Grecian Stage. You had better have stuck to that of Rome. For, if we may judge of the future by the past, you will be much more emulous of the Roman Stage, than the Grecian. The Grecian Stage was supported by great originals; the Roman Stage, for the most part, by copies of those originals. The Romans had very few Plays that were worth one farthing, but what they borrowed from the Grecians, as You and your Deputy Governor borrow from the French. The Romantic Lady, in "The Tender Husband," is taken from the "*Précieuses Ridicules*" of MOLIERE. But there is this difference between MOLIERE'S Comedy and yours: MOLIERE'S Comedy was very reasonable; and for that very reason, among others, was very entertaining and instructive. It appeared at a time when the Family of the PRECIEUSES was as numerous at Paris, as that of the COQUETTES is at present in this wicked Town. But that large and fantastic family disappeared at once upon the acting of that Comedy, like nocturnal vapours upon the rising of the sun. But the Romantic Lady in "The Tender Husband" is so singular a monster, that she can neither be instructive nor delightful; for, if a Comic Poet does not paint the times in which he lives, he does nothing at all.

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But the reading of Romances, and books of Knight-errantry, had long been out of fashion before "The Tender Husband" appeared.

"The Lying Lovers" is made up of two Plays of CORNEILLE, "The Lyar," and "The Sequel of the Lyar." I shall say no more of it, than that it is a very wretched copy of a very indifferent original; for Comedy was not the talent of CORNEILLE. Your Champion, and your Deputy Governor, has made as bold with the French as you, and to as good a purpose; he has bravely turned the "*Tartuffe*" of MOLIERE out of ridicule. But then, to commute for that offence, he has with equal bravery burlesqued the "*Cid*" of CORNEILLE. We may guess, as I said before, at your future conduct, by your past. You, and your Deputy Governor, will go on to borrow from the French, and continue to rail at them. It is not enough for some people to rob, unless they likewise murder. But how generous was the conduct of the old Romans, when compared with yours? They borrowed from the Grecians, as you do from the French, and came short of the Grecians in what they borrowed, as you two do of the French. But then they frankly owned the obligations they had to them, and owned them their superiors. If HORACE imitated PINDAR, as he did very much; he had the modesty and the prudence to affirm, that PINDAR is inimitable.

But the mention of the Grecian and Roman Stage recalls to my remembrance, that neither
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the Athenians nor the Romans would by any means suffer their Actors to have the Management of their Stage: nor would it ever be suffered in France, if the Actors were not all excommunicated; who being consequently looked upon as a living portion of the damned, and the Devil's advanced-guard, no man of condition dares appear at the head of them.

That Players should have the Management of the Stage, you see, was contrary to the sense of the ancient Grecians and Romans; and is suffered by the French only on the account of their being under excommunication. How it was managed among us, before the reign of King CHARLES II. I will not pretend to tell exactly; but I have strong reasons to believe that it was always under the inspection and regulation of the Court. For forty years after the Restoration, it was always under the regulation of my Lord Chamberlain. And during those forty years it flourished exceedingly; and was illustrious for great Wits, and famous for great Actors. The great Writers have disappeared; and the few good Actors who remain are likely to have no successors. The Muses have abandoned it with disdain, as scorning to be controlled by wretches, who neither know nor value their merit, and who, like the dunghill-cock in Æsop, when they find a jewel, reject it for a barley-corn; yet you, forsooth, pretend to make it outvie all that ever appeared at Athens, by running counter to those very

methods which raised the Athenian Stage so high. But, to make the extravagance and the ridicule of this appear more strongly, I will endeavour to shew you what the virtues and the capacities of your Deputies are, who are to bring about this great event: I will send you their several pictures very graphically drawn; and you are too gallant a person, Sir JOHN, to take it ill, if, by the light of their pictures, I set your own before your eyes.

I will begin with your Deputy Governor*, who, being living, yet speaketh not. I will shew you, what his religion, his zeal, his piety, are; what his moral and social virtues, his natural affection, his concern for his wife and children, and his regard for the rest of men. I shall dwell longer upon his intellectual qualities; because his is all the power of the Stage, to whom his Brother Ministers are but cyphers, and you a mere nominal Sovereign, an arrant Duke of Venice. I shall give you a taste of his great learning, and of his knowledge of the Art of the Stage. I shall shew you how deeply he is read in History, which he talks of; and how conversant he is in that Dramatic Poet whom he most pretends to admire. I shall

* CIBBER, who in general seems to have been indifferent enough about abuse, was irritated so far by DENNIS's character of him, as to put an advertisement in "The Daily Post," offering Ten Pounds to any person who would (by a legal proof) discover the Author. See the last page of the Tract which follows DENNIS's Second Letter.

then

then appeal to your own partial judgement, whether this is not a proper Governor for the Stage, a worthy Judge of the Works of Art, and highly qualified to approve or condemn the Plays which Authors bring you. I shall leave it to your own partial judgement, whether a Theatre, with so sanctified and so understanding a person at the head of it, so illustrious for his virtue and for his good-nature, is not certain to make that Theatre outvie all that ever appeared at Athens; is not sure to give our neighbours a pattern of a wise, a learned, and a virtuous Stage.

What BUTLER tells us of the Religion of HUDIBRAS, is justly applicable to the Deputy Governor:

“ For his Religion, it is fit

“ To match his Learning and his Wit.”

For, having neither Wit by nature, nor Learning by education, he has Religion neither by nature nor education. But here, Sir JOHN, I desire that you would not mistake me. I do not pretend that a Player ought to eat the Saints; but then I would not have him impious, I would not have him blasphemous. The Deputy Governor has not so much as the first principles of Natural Religion, without which there can be no government and no society among men. This irreproachable, inoffensive person has a thousand times denied the very Being of a God; he has made his brags

and his boasts of that senseless Infidelity; he has told all the world, that he retained it lately, when he believed he was in the article of death. Oh, the manly, the elegant, the generous, the ornamental qualifications of a miscreant, who is stupid enough to believe, that though there is *mind* and *spirit* in his wretched carcase, there is none in the Heavens! For the Christian Religion, he does not modestly doubt of it, nor dispute candidly against it, but attacks it with the most impudent and outrageous insolence. It is credibly reported, that he spit on the Face of our Saviour's picture at the Bath, with words too execrable and too horrible to be repeated.

As Religion is the only solid foundation of every moral duty, we ought not to be surprized, if he, who owns that he is wholly destitute of that, is void of all moral and social virtues. He has neither tenderness for his wife, nor natural affection for his children, nor any sympathizing regard for the rest of men. He has, in the compass of two years, squandered away six thousand pounds at the Groom-porter's, without making the least provision for either his wife or children. He has not the least regard for the rest of men; and has had the impudence to declare, that if he were on one side of the way, and some miserable creature were on the other, racked with the most tormenting pain, and roaring aloud for succour, he would not cross the channel to give him ease, nor to save him from
death

death and damnation. And yet this caitiff pretends to be loyal; as if it were possible for any one "to honour the King," who "neither fears God, nor regards men." Through what motive can he be loyal? We can give some account of our loyalty; because the King protects us by his just, his mild, and his gracious government; protects us in our civil and religious rights, protects our relations, our friends, and companions, who are all of them dear to us, and whose happiness is, by reflexion at least, our own. But CIBBER has neither God nor Religion, relation, friend, nor companion, for whom he cares one farthing. What interest can he, who centers wholly in himself, have to be loyal to a good and gracious King? He must be for absolute power in his heart; and would do his business best in an arbitrary reign. He must be qualified for consummate villainy; and would be a rare tool for a tyrant.

I should now proceed to give an account of his intellectual qualifications: but I am obliged to postpone such an account a little, in order to the acquainting you, that it has been for some time matter of wonder to me, that this extraordinary person, who "neither fears God, nor regards men," should fall down and idolize you; and that you, who for so many years together have had nothing in your mouth but Religion, Honour, Conscience, Justice, Benevolence, Innocence, should pretend to make one, who "neither fears God, nor

“ regards men,” pass upon the world for an inoffensive, irreproachable person; nay, for one of manly, elegant, generous, ornamental qualifications. What can be the meaning of this, Sir JOHN? Have you really a mind to throw off the mask at last; and to own to the world, that all those plausible words, Religion, Honour, Conscience, Justice, Beneficence, Innocence, with *some* Nomenclators, mean one and the same thing; and that is, Private Interest? That they are with some persons nothing but a sort of a conjuring cant; a kind of a *hocus pocus* language; by virtue of which, he who uses them does all his tricks of *Legerdemain* without being discovered, and calls the money out from other people’s pockets into his own? Is this the case, Sir JOHN? Or are you pleased with your Deputy’s offering incense to you, after his spitting in the face of our Saviour? Or are there some extraordinary qualities, which, being common to you both, cause this union of affections, and this sympathy of souls?

I believe I have hit the mark. This last is certainly the thing. There are several extraordinary qualities, which are common to both of you, which have caused this union of affections, and this sympathy of souls.

In the first place, you have both of you risen from very inconsiderable beginnings. You, Sir JOHN, if I have not been misinformed, are descended from a Trooper’s Horse; and your Deputy Governor was begotten by a Cane-chair

chair upon a Flower-pot. There is no great harm in all this: but then you have both of you shamelessly flown in the faces of the very persons who raised you.

In the second place, you are both of you great squanderers; one of you an avaricious squanderer, and the other both an avaricious and a vain-glorious one. His purse and yours seem to be contrived like a certain KNIGHT's *Fish-pool*; the purses let out gold, as the *Fish-pool* does water, as fast as they take it in.

Your Deputy, in the compass of two years, has thrown away six thousand pounds at the Groom-porter's, without making the least provision for his family: yet Hope still remains at the bottom of the box for him; for which reason, he is hopelessly undone.

You, Sir JOHN EDGAR, have been a squanderer in three elements. Some of your gold has been consumed in Rosicrucian fire; when you, and BURNABY * the Poet, and TILLY the late Warden of the Fleet, entered into an indenture tripartite, as FACE and SUBTLE, and DOLL COMMON, had done before you; but with this difference, that these last were Cheats, whereas you and your brethren were Gulls; with an eagerness like that of Sir EPICURE MAMMON, where you embarked in the search

* CHARLES BURNABY, Esq. a gentleman who had been bred at the University, and a member of the Middle Temple. He was the Author of Four Comedies; "The Reformed Wife," 1700; "The Ladies Visiting-day," 1701; "The Modish Husband," 1702; and "Love Betrayed," 1703.

of your *aurum potabile*; when you used to say to one another, over your midnight suppers, "Drink, and be rich." Some of your pelf has been wasted in the smith's forge; not out of any fordid desire of gain, but zeal for the service of the *ladies petticoats*. More has been lost in the vast depths of the Ocean, in quest of *cod-fish* and *old-ling*. What noble designs, and what glorious projects, for the CENSOR of Great Britain, and for the Auditor-General of the Universe! Still more of your money has been scattered *in air*; where for so many years you have been building castles, and will continue to build, to squander, and to consume, till the Earth gets the better of her sister elements, and you and your projects disappear together.

There is a third extraordinary quality, Sir JOHN, which is common to you and your Vice-roy; which is, that you have both of you, for several years together, been the celebrated Authors of other people's works. Your Muses have a pretty near resemblance with a certain Comedian's wife, who, passing with the cully who married her for a virgin, had several children by other persons before her husband lay with her. I make no doubt but that your Muses are the more agreeable to both of you, because they are so very prolific without any trouble of yours: for you are sure of the profit; and you have both of you enough of that sort of philosophy, which is of the natural growth of Tipperary, to despise the infamy. Which puts

me in mind of a notorious Tragedian, who being admonish'd by his friends not to marry a certain strumpet, of whose acquired attractions he was grown very fond, because such a marriage would bring shame and infamy upon him, swore that he liked her the better for it*.

With how great satisfaction, nay, with how great joy, with how great transport, have I often reflected, that you and your Viceroy have infinitely surpass'd old VILLERS BAYES of Brentford? That he has entirely submitted to his two younger brothers, DICKY BAYES and COLLEY BAYES, of the Hundred of old Drury! You are come to contemn his obsolete rules, his *regula duplex*, his rule of *transversing* and *transposing* (though I think, by the way, Sir JOHN, you were formerly often in at the latter); you are come to despise his rule of record, his rule by way of table-talk. You have shewn that you look with scorn on his rule of invention, and his Drama common-place-book. He, poor mortal, was contented to glean here and there a sentence, sometimes from PLUTARCH, sometimes from SENECA, and sometimes from modern MONTAIGNE. Whereas you have found a shorter way to Parnassus. You and your Viceroy bravely and boldly seize upon other men's Plays; cause new title-pages to be printed;

* This seems to allude to Mr. BOOTH's marriage with Miss SANTLOW, who had been the Mistress of the Duke of MARLBOROUGH and Mr. CRAGGS.

and

and so, to the amazement of some few Readers, they pass with the rest for your own.

I was formerly so weak as to think that nothing was more a man's own than his thoughts and inventions. Nay, I have been often inclined to think, that a man had absolute property in his thoughts and inventions alone. I have been apt to think, with a great Poet *, that every thing else which the world calls *property* is very improperly named so ;

————— *tanquam*
Sit proprium cuiquam, puncto quod mobilis horæ
Nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc sorte supremâ,
Permutet dominos, & cedat in altera jura †.

The money that is mine was somebody's else before, and will be hereafter another's.

Houses and lands too are certain to change their landlords; sometimes by gift, sometimes by purchase, sometimes by might; but always, to be sure, by death. But my thoughts are unalterably and unalienably mine, and never can be another's. They are out of the reach of Fortune, that disposes of all things else. It is not in the power of Fate itself to alienate or transfer them; it can only make them pass for

* Horace, 2 Ep. ii. 171.

† —as if he had the power

‘ Of that, which in the moment of an hour,
 ‘ By favour, purchase, force, or Fate's commands,
 ‘ May change its lord, and fall to other hands.’

another's, or annihilate them, and cause them to be swallowed and lost in the abyss of Time.

I have therefore formerly been inclined to think that nothing ought to be so sacred as a man's thoughts and inventions: and I have more than once observed, that the impudent plagiarist, who makes it the business of his life to seize on them and usurp them, has stuck at no other property, but has dared to violate all that is sacred among men.

But here of late the wonderful operations of yourself and your Viceroy, and your more wonderful success upon them, have so confounded me, that I know not what to think.

As I have wondered at the noble assurance with which You and your Deputy Governor have surpassed your elder Brother of Brentford in the quickness of becoming Author; so, Sir JOHN, if you will pardon a little digression, I will felicitate you upon these dextrous politicks, by which you have so much refined upon his; and by which, when you bring any thing upon the Stage, you secure success to your works. For old BAYES was contented with the printing of a hundred sheets, in order to "infinite his Play into the Boxes:" but you, Sir JOHN, upon the like occasion, have, by way of *Lucubration* and *Speculation*, printed a hundred thousand sheets. He, poor wretch, was satisfied with placing a dozen or two of his friends in the Pit, who were instructed to do their duty: but you, Sir JOHN, upon such an occasion,

sion, have ordered a thirty-pound dinner to be got ready at *the Rose*; where, like another ARTHUR, you and your Knights of the Round Table have eat and drunk yourselves up to success, and have become invincible. In short, you have almost filled the Pit and Galleries with your own creatures; who have been ordered, at some certain signals, to clap, laugh, huzza, to clatter their canes and their heels to such a degree, that the hissing of a hundred snakes could no more be heard, than in the uproar and din of a battle. I begin to perceive that, before I was aware, I have run into too great a length for a Letter; for which I heartily beg your pardon. I shall finish your Viceroy's picture in a second Letter, which shall follow immediately upon the heels of this; and afterwards I shall proceed to the rest.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

L E T.

 L E T T E R II.

Ecce autem similia omnia, omnes congruunt :

Unum cognoris, omnes noris.——

Hic in noxâ est, ille ad defendendam causam ad est ;

Cum ille est, hic præsto est ; tradunt operas mutuas.

TERENT. Phorm. I. v. 34.

‘ See, all alike! the whole gang hangs together :

‘ Know one, and you know all.——

‘ One does a fault, the other’s hard at hand

‘ To bear him out; when t’other slips, *he’s* ready :

‘ Each in their turn!’

COLMAN.

SIR,

Jan. 23, 1719-20.

I HAVE now read over five or six of your Papers; but the more I read of them, the more demonstrative proof I have, that the advice which I gave you in the former Letter is found; and that is, never to meddle with Criticism, nor the Improvement of the Dramatic Art: for though in the other Papers, which make no mention of that subject, there is not so much as the shadow of that fine raillery, and that agreeable pleasantry, which are to be found in your *Lucubrations*, and in some few
of

of your *Speculations*; and that for a very good reason, because Letters do not so easily arrive from the *dead**, as they formerly did from Ireland; yet is there something tolerable in them: whereas the three first, in which you pretend to criticize, and to talk in the old cant of the improvement of the Stage, are altogether absurd and extravagant; for which there is very good reason to be given, that when you talk of morality and mankind, and the knowledge of the world, you may, like your elder brother of Brentford, make use of other people's wit and judgement, that is, of your common-place-book; but, when you criticize, you must make use of your own.

In reading over your Second Paper, I know not whether I thought you or your Viceroy the more *wrong-headed* person of the Two: for he has writ such a Letter in it, which none but *He* could write; and you have published and commended such a Letter in it, as none but *You* could publish and commend.

The intention of your Paper called "THE "THEATRE" is most apparently to support, in defiance of the Court and Town, a parcel

* ADDISON, the person alluded to here, was at this time *dead*; when living, he had suffered in his turn under the *flail* of DENNIS, who did not deal in *fine railery* or *agreeable* pleasantry. DENNIS had endeavoured to deserve well of his Country, by shewing to a demonstration that ADDISON's *Cato* was the fillicst and the worst of all filly and bad Plays.

of impudent Players, in pride, presumption, folly, ignorance, insolence; and this the Viceroy calls "a most generous design." And immediately after, he thinks to make amends for his real arrogance and his insolence, by an hypocritical, canting humility. He is pleased to say, "That you cannot but be sensible that the English Actors stand upon a more precarious foot than persons of any other profession whatsoever." But surely, Sir JOHN, these thoughts are very lately come into your Viceroy's head; for if he has thought himself all along upon a more precarious foot than any person of any condition whatever; how comes it that he has all along shewn more impudence and more insolence than any person of any other profession whatever? He seems to envy the happiness of the French Actors, because they are under absolute protection forsooth; not considering, that for that very reason they are subject to absolute chastisement.

If a French Actor had written such a flagrant Epistle in France as a certain late British Actor did lately to a certain British Knight, what do you think, Sir JOHN, would have become of him? Would he have been quit for being silenced, after he had flown in the face of all the Ministers, the Duke Regent, and the King himself? or would he have been now rowing in the galleys, upon the sustenance of bread and water, with a head like that of an old statue, without either ears or nose? But there

A a

is

is nothing in this Letter which is so very extravagant; or which moves my indignation so much, as this wretch's insinuating, that he is an accomplished Actor; than which nothing can be more impudent: for the truth of the matter is, that he acts nothing at all well. He sometimes appears pretty well upon the Stage, when he is the real thing which the Poet designs, as a ridiculous, incorrigible, impudent Fop in Comedy; and a bold, dissembling, dangerous, undermining Villain in Tragedy. And sometimes in Tragedy he blends the Fop and the Villain together, as in IAGO for example, in "The Moor of Venice;" and there you have the Viceroy entire*.

And here, Sir JOHN, this worthy person is for referring it to the Publick, whether he is an accomplished Actor or no. Here again he is for expressing great humility, and making a shew of great gratitude; it is, forsooth, the pure will and pleasure of the Publick that must at last determine upon his merit; it is thither only that he must fly for grace or favour, and from their sentence there can be no appeal. Why then, Sir JOHN, he is utterly undone. For the Publick, you may depend upon it, does him the same justice that I do. The Publick will neither be imposed upon by his counterfeit

* The rejection of his play, and the adoption of his thunder, made this man mad.

— *Manet alta mente repostum,
Judicium DRAMATIS, & sprete injuria MUSÆ.*
hu-

humility, nor his insipid cajolery. The Publick is not so very weak, but that they know they are composed of particular persons; and that he, who has affronted so many of the best and the noblest of those particular persons, can never have any real regard for the rest. The Court is certainly the noblest part of the Publick; next to which, are the Persons of Quality and Gentlemen of the Town.

Has he not behaved himself to both these with intolerable insolence? Has not the one silenced him? and the other compelled him to make his entrance and *exit* upon the Stage both in the same moment, and in such a manner as never Actor did before?

Your reflections, Sir JOHN, upon the aforesaid Letter are, like all the rest, very surprizing. You say, that "it is plain by this Letter, "the THEATRE both wants an Advocate, and "deserves one." As by the THEATRE you mean the Managers, I have shewn pretty well above how far they deserve an Advocate. But, for God's sake, Sir JOHN, how came they to want an Advocate? They wanted none before *You* came among them; that is, before this winter. Last season they were in high favour, both with the Court and Town. Nay, for seven years together, they have, clear of all charges, got every year a thousand pounds a man; from which it is clear, that they were under neither want nor distress till this winter. How came they to want an Advocate now? How

came you to take no notice of the reason of this distress? Or are you for improving their vices only? There can but one reason in nature be given, why they should want an Advocate this winter, any more than they did the last. And that is, because their vices, which we have named so often, their impudence, their pride, their insolence, are grown to such a flaming height, that the world can endure them no longer. But, instead of reproving and reprimanding them for their vices, you are pleased to insinuate that they ought to be indulged in them, lest correction and chastisement should render them less capable of playing their parts well; which is as much as to say, that if any of them should commit high-treason, or a murder, they ought not to be hanged for it, for fear it should spoil their Acting. But there is a great deal of just such logick as this every where in these blessed Papers.

The paragraph that begins at the bottom of the third column in this second paper is an unparalleled one, and shews what vast improvement of the Stage we are to expect from you, and how perfectly you understand it. You say, that “in France they are delighted
“either with low and fantastical Farces, or tedious and declamatory Tragedies.” How rarely this sounds from one now, who has himself brought their Plays upon the English Stage, and set his own name to them; from one, of whose Poetical Works they make up
the

the better half; and lastly, from one, who in his *Speculations* has so often and so fulsomely commended the bare translations of those originals which he here decries! It is true, one of their own celebrated Authors has accused CORNEILLE of being sometimes a little declamatory; but neither he, nor any one before yourself*, has ever accused RACINE of it. How angry were you once with the Town, for not liking that wretched rhapsody, the “Phædra” of Captain RAG †, which is nothing but a medley

* See SPECTATOR, N° 18; which, however, was written by ADDISON, not by STEELE. Dr. JOHNSON says, that “DENNIS, in one of his pieces, tells us, that he had “once a design to have written the Tragedy of PHÆDRA, “but was convinced that the action was too mythological.”

† The “Phædra and Hippolytus” of EDMUND SMITH, who was nick-named RAG SMITH; “a Play,” says JOHNSON, “which pleased the Criticks, and the Criticks only. It was hardly heard the third night. ADDISON, in the SPECTATOR, mentions this neglect of it as disgraceful to the nation, and imputes it to the fondness for operas then prevailing. The authority of ADDISON is great; yet the voice of the people, when to please the people is the purpose, deserves regard. In this question, I cannot but think the people right. The fable is mythological, a story which we are accustomed to reject as false; and the manners are so distant from our own, that we know them not by sympathy but by study: the ignorant do not understand the action, the learned reject it as a school-boy’s tale;—“incredulus odi.” What I cannot for a moment believe, I cannot for a moment behold with interest or anxiety. The sentiments, thus remote from life, are removed yet further by the diction, which is too luxuriant and splendid for dialogue, and envelopes the thoughts rather than displays them. It is a scholar’s play,

ley of two Tragedies of RACINE, the “*Phèdre*,” and the “*Bajazet*,” both murdered in the mingling them. And now RACINE himself, it seems, is grown contemptible to one who formerly so much admired an absurd imitation of him. I am very willing to allow, that we have had Tragic Poets in England, who have had more Genius than the French. But it is not enough to have Genius; a man must have Art too, which few of our Tragic Poets have had. This is the judgement of no less a Master than HORACE, Art. Poet. ver. 409.

—— *Ego nec studium sine divite venâ,
Nec rude quid profit video ingenium; alterius sic,
Altera poscit opem res, & conjurat amice* *.

The Author who would write an accomplished Tragedy must know what a *whole* and its *parts* are. If without them he has the finest things in the world in his Tragedy, he will come under the censure of HORACE, Art. Poet. ver. 34.

*Infelix operis summâ, quia ponere totum
Nesciet* †.

such as may please the reader rather than the spectator; the work of a vigorous and elegant mind, accustomed to please itself with its own conceptions, but of little acquaintance with the course of life.”]

* ‘—— I neither see

- ‘ What can mere Art, devoid of Nature’s wealth,
- ‘ Nor Genius, uninform’d, effect alone;
- ‘ They ask each other’s kindly aid; nor can,
- ‘ Without the strictest union, gain their end.’

‘ DUNCOMBE.’

† ‘ Unhappy in the whole, because unskill’d

- ‘ To join the parts, and make them harmonize.’

‘ DUNCOMBE.’

I fan-

I fancy, Sir JOHN, that you are an utter stranger to the Works of that great Poet; or sure you could never affirm, in contempt of his authority, what you assert at the end of this paragraph, that a Dramatic Work can never be gracefully executed under the restraint of Rules; and particularly of the *Three Unities*; that the French fall into the absurdity of thinking it more masterly to do little or nothing in a short time, than to invade the Rules of *Time* and *Place*, to adorn their Plays with greatness and variety. Surely, Sir JOHN, you wrote this after the *third bottle*. What, do you pretend to improve an Art, by crying down the Rules of it? Do you intend to improve it by chance? for it must be done by rule or chance; there is certainly no third way. You say that a Dramatic Work cannot be gracefully executed under the restraint of Rules; the very reverse of truth. And therefore a noble Poet and Critick, who has ten thousand times your judgement, has said the very reverse of what you affirm: "That a Dramatic Design cannot be gracefully executed without the Rules, and particularly without the Unities." The passage is in the "Essay on Poetry," which has always passed with the best Judges for the standard of true judgement; and with the commendation of which, my Lord ROSCOMMON, who was himself so great a judge, has begun his "Essay on Translated Verse."

The passage in the "Essay on Poetry," which is the contradiction of yours, is as follows :

- ' The Unities of Action, Time, and Place,
- ' Which, if observ'd, give Plays so great a grace,
- ' Are, though but little practis'd, too well known
- ' To be taught here, where we pretend alone
- ' From nicer faults to purge the present age ;
- ' Less obvious errors of the English Stage.'

Now here the Noble Author asserts two things ; first, that the observing of the Unities of Action, Time, and Place, give a great deal of grace to Plays : secondly, that the not observing of these Unities is destructive of grace in Plays ; for, by neglecting them, he affirms that an Author commits obvious and palpable errors ; and certainly errors, and the graces in Writing, are two very different things.

Thus you see, Sir JOHN, that you are condemned by this Noble Writer, who for forty years together has justly passed with people of all parties, ranks, and degrees of men, for the greatest and surest Judge of these matters in England. And you see that he does not only condemn your sentiment, but that his sentence reaches your very terms. I had shewn you before, that Reason is against you. For to talk of improving an Art, by declaring against the Rules of it, must be a jest to every Painter's and Fidler's Prentice in Town. Now let us see, whether experience, and the practice of the Stage, declare for you. I am afraid we shall find,

find, upon a strict scrutiny, that the very best of our Plays are the most regular. "Heroic Love," and "The Orphan," are certainly two of the best of our Tragedies; and they are certainly two of the most regular. "The Fox," "The Alchemist," "The Silent Woman" of BEN JONSON, are incomparably the best of our Comedies; and they are certainly the most regular of them all. If you will not take my word for this, let us see what BEN says himself to the matter, in his Prologue to "The Fox:"

- ' Nor made he his Play from jests stol'n from each
' table,
- ' But makes jests to fit his Fable;
- ' And so presents quick Comedy refin'd,
- ' As best Criticks have design'd.
- ' The laws of Time, Place, Persons, he observeth;
- ' From no needful Rule he swerveth.'

Now, do not you see, by this last line, that it was the opinion of the greatest of all our Comic Poets, that the Rules were absolutely necessary to perfection?

To return to the French. Because you have been told, that the French genius has neither the force nor sublimity of the English; therefore you conclude, that the Rules are in fault: whereas I have clearly shewn you, that nothing perfectly beautiful can be produced in the Drama without the help of the Rules. You ought, therefore, to have asked yourself this question:
Whether

Whether the French Dramatic Poets would not have written worse, if they had not been sustained by them? Whether the Rules are not props and supports to the weakness of the French Genius? Whether their Dramatic Poets, who wrote before the Rules were introduced among them, are comparable to those who have writ since? Whether GARNIER, TRISTAN, ROTROU, were equal to CORNEILLE and RACINE? All the world knows they are not.

You should likewise have considered, whether CORNEILLE, who introduced the Rules among them, was acquainted with them when he first began to write? So far from it, that he himself owns that he did not so much as know that there were Rules. You should then have asked this question: Whether the Dramatic Poems, which he wrote before he was acquainted with ARISTOTLE, are comparable to those which he wrote after he came to be convinced of the necessity and efficacy of his Rules? Any one who has read his Works could have told you, that there is no manner of comparison between them. It had then been time to consider, whether the Genius of SHAKESPEARE himself would not have appeared brighter and more glorious, if he had written regularly?

This, Sir JOHN EDGAR, may be depended upon; that if you know any one who calls himself a Poet, and who is offended at Rules, that is, at Criticism; know, that that aversion is a never-failing mark of a very vile Scribbler.

Know,

Know, that there never was in the world, nor ever will be, a legitimate Epic or Dramatic Poet, but he was fond of Criticism, and of Rules; nay, he was himself a Critick, a just, a great, a severe Critick, and a religious observer of Rules.

The Rules of Poetry constitute the Art of it; which he who does not thoroughly understand, can never be a great Poet. For how should any one perfectly practise an Art, which he does not perfectly understand? Can any one believe, that HOMER, SOPHOCLES, and EURIPIDES, did not write regularly, and were not great Criticks; when one of the most penetrating of all the old Philosophers has taken the very Rules of the Art from his observations of the method which they took to succeed? The extravagant and absurd aversion which we have shewn so long to Criticks and to Rules, is one cause at least that the very species of Poets is shortly like to be extinguished in Great Britain.

It is now about a century and a half since the first THEATRE was erected among us. Why have we since that time improved in almost every Art except Dramatic Poetry? Our Architecture is become quite another thing. We are come to contemn our old Gothic and barbarous manner of building; and are perfectly convinced, that the ancient Grecian and Roman manner is not only more beautiful and more harmonious, but more useful and more convenient. We have since that time made a very
great

great progress in Musick. Our National Painting is likewise vastly improved: so are likewise the Mechanic Arts. We have excelled the very Nations from which we have taken them. And though we are esteemed by our neighbours to be but very indifferent Inventors, we are very justly thought by them to be the greatest Improvers in the world.

For what reason then have we made no progress in our Dramatic Poetry? Why has the first who appeared among us, even in the infancy of our Stage, surpassed all his successors in Tragedy, by the confession of those very successors? Why has BEN JONSON excelled all in Comedy, who have attempted it after him? What cause can be assigned for this, but that our Architects, Painters, and Masters of Musick, have been humble and docile enough to study and follow the Rules of their Art, and to be corrected both by foreign examples, and by domestic remonstrances? whereas the persons whom we have called POETS, being very proud and very ignorant, have rejected all these with disdain; which puts me in mind of the following lines of my Lord ROSCOMMON, in his Translation of HORACE'S "Art of Poetry:"

- ' Why is he honour'd with a Poet's name,
- ' Who neither knows, nor would observe a Rule;
- ' And chuses to be ignorant and proud,
- ' Rather than own his ignorance, and learn?"

Which lines, if they do not shew HORACE'S
 2 sense

sense exactly, yet shew my Lord Roscommon's; which is of no small weight.

Yet, after all, Sir JOHN, to shew you that I am neither a bigot nor a slave to the Rules, my opinion is, that whereas the Rules are only directions to an Epic or Dramatic Poet, for the attainment of sovereign beauty; whenever it may happen, by very great chance, that sovereign beauty can be better attained by suspending one of them for that time, than by a too rigid observance of it; then, by consequence, the grand Rule is, resolutely to suspend it. And such a masterly neglect of it for the time shews a Poet to be both discreet and bold.

For as it is the prerogative of a King to suspend the execution of a Law, when such a suspension is, and appears to be, absolutely necessary for the safety and welfare of the Publick; which is the great Law, to which all other Laws ought to be subservient; and consequently, for the procuring or promoting of which, there is not one of them but what ought to be broken, as upon all other occasions they ought to be kept inviolably: so it is the prerogative of a Poet, to set aside a Rule of his Art, or a Rule of an Art subservient to his own, whenever it is necessary for the ennobling of his Art, and the enriching of the Commonwealth of Learning.

However, this is a Law of eternal obligation, that wherever great beauties can be shewn with the Rules as well as they can without them, there

there the Rules ought always to remain most sacred and inviolable. The reason is plain; because, when the surprize and the emotion is over, which is caused by the power of great beauty, the Reader, who comes to be cool and calm, is apt to look for defects; and if he finds them, though not in the part where the beauties lie, yet in the whole he is apt to be shocked.

In my humble opinion, this ought to be the certain signal for breaking though a Rule, in order to shew great beauties; when the beauties, which by that masterly and noble neglect adorn a particular part, are powerful enough to make more than compensation for the defect, which by the irregularity accrues to the whole. But since, as we observed before, the beauties will be still more powerful, if the Rules are preserved, a Poet ought to make his utmost effort, in order to gain that point. And if that point can be gained by making those efforts, the Poet who fails to use them, either through sloth, or any other cause whatever, becomes altogether inexcusable.

And now, Sir JOHN, I appeal to any impartial man, if it is not apparent, from what you and I have said of the Rules, that you and your Deputies are fit to be the Managers of no Stage, unless it be that of a Mountebank, into which you are turning that of Drury-Lane as fast as possibly you can: for there are Mountebanks in every profession; and the sure mark of a Mountebank

tebank in any profession is declaring against the Rules of his profession; the bestowing pompous titles upon himself, and high encomiums upon himself and his *Nostrum*.

I have known a grave Divine* turn mountebank; and, travelling North-West, set up his stage at every Market-town; where he has vended his heterodox opinions, as a Physical Empyrick does his sophisticated medicines.

I have likewise been acquainted with a Politic Mountebank, who, contradicting the fundamental maxim of Politicks, has affirmed, that Dominion, especially if it be an Aristocracy, is founded not on the strength of men's possessions, but on the weakness of their minds.

I have likewise known a Salt-water Mountebank, who has pretended to find out a way to sail, like the witch in "Macbeth," to Aleppo in a sieve, and catch Fish enough in his voyage to ruin all the Fishmongers †.

I know a certain vile Scribbler for the House in Drury-Lane, who is an arrant Mountebank; not only for railing at the Rules, but for metamorphosing Tragedy into Comedy, and Comedy into Tragedy. He has writ two Tragedies, the language of which is peculiarly adapted to excite laughter; and the Comedies which are his own perform the effects of Tragedy. He never offers at a jest, but the very

* Dr. SACHEVERELL.

† An allusion to Sir RICHARD STEELE's *Fish-pool*.

offer

offer at it moves a terror; and it is no sooner out, but it moves compassion.

I had gone thus far, and had a very great length to come, (for of *Six* of the Papers that are now extant, I have hardly gone through *Two*); when, by a most surprizing piece of news, I was forced to break-off in this place abruptly: for news is come to me this very moment, that Sir JOHN EDGAR is certainly defunct; and that the Patent is struck speechless by a syderal blast. So that I am at loss what to do. To proceed would look like insulting; and how to make an end I know not. I must desire some person, into whose hands this Letter may come, to do it for me; who may know, perhaps much better than I do, what ceremonies are stated, and what compliments are usual, between a Mortal and a Ghost.

AN ANSWER to a WHIMSICAL PAMPHLET,
called The Character of Sir JOHN EDGAR, &c.

Humbly inscribed to Sir TREMENDOUS LONGINUS.

Written by Sir JOHN EDGAR'S BAKER, men-
tioned in the *Third* THEATRE.

Heautontimorumenos.

TER.

D E D I C A T I O N.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR WORSHIP,

Jan. 26, 1719-20.

I Am but a young Writer; therefore I presume to dedicate this to your Worship, because you are a *Parlous Cricket*. I do not well know the meaning of the word; but I am sure it is something to fright young Writers, as *Raw-head* and *Bloody-bones* does young children. You must know, the reason of my Dedication is this: my Master, Sir JOHN EDGAR, whose *Baker* I am, was going to prefer me to a higher post, as you may see more at large in a paper of Master's writing, called, "THE THEATRE*."

* See THEATRE, N^o III. p. 25.

Now, Master at present, d'ye see, can't be as good as his word, by reason a Friend of Master's has not the use of that power that he formerly had. Now you must know, there is *com'd-out* a comical Book, that does not use neither Master or Master's Friend very well, and they say was written by a Drayman. Now, Master had some thoughts of answering this same Drayman himself; but, thinking it was not worth his while, he sent for me, and broke his mind to me in this manner: "TIM, you know, I have promised you a place; but things have fell out in such an odd manner, that you must wait a little longer for it; and I don't doubt but it will be thine one time or other. Now, here is a Book that is not worth my while to take notice of; therefore I would have thee take it, read it over, and answer it as well as thou canst, that the World may see thou art fit for the place I designed thee; but," added Master, "don't scold too much." So I took the Book, and read it over; and it made me *woundy mad*, and I could not help calling the Writer on't a *mungril cur*, for abusing poor Master after such an ugly manner. Now, some do say, that the Writer lives in the verge of the Court; and, if so, there is a certain great gentleman (that can do it, it seems) will have him ferreted out; and if I could but know the time, I would wait for him with my cudgel that Master order'd me to buy for my new place, and I would so *be-labour* him, that I would

make him down on his marrow-bones, and swear never to write again. For lookee, Mr. TREMENDOUS, I think it is very ill done of any one to fall foul of poor Maister EDGAR, now he is under misfortunes; but I don't doubt but I shall see him stand upon his own legs again for all this, and make out something of a Latin Motto, that I have heard people talk of, that ends with—*pondere virtus* *; you must guess at the rest, for I'll assure you I am no *Latinist*; though I do remember another Motto that pleased me too, which was put to Remarks on a Play called, “The Betrayer of his Country †,” *Fronti nulla fides* ‡, and writ by a School-boy, a sharp lad I assure you. But I must not take an occasion to be tedious in my Dedication, as the Author of the above-mentioned Play was in his. But I wish you what you deserve; and am your humble servant,

TIMOTHY RAGG.

* ‘*Crescit sub pondere virtus.*’

† The second title of DENNIS's “*Coriolanus.*”

‡ See the THEATRE, N^o III. p. 25.

INTRODUCTION.

MY Master's Man HUMPHREY tells me, "It is best to sleep in a whole skin;" and though I know he has *bolted* many a good thing from Maister, I am not obliged to be *sifted* by him; though he is much the older, and is given a little to be *crusty*; he will needs know how it comes to pass, that I pretend to answer Master WHAT D'Y CALL'N, as Master EDGAR calls'n; and I'll assure you we had many heats about it. So at last we agreed to lay our two nobbs together; for, look you, HUMPHREY is a very ingenious person, as Maister allows of. So that, d'ye see, I write, and he puts the matter into better *English*, as he calls it. So that we are two bodies, like PINKEE and his Afs, and write in conjunction; but still ye know we are good enough for Mr. DUNDERPATE we pretend to cope with. I thought once to get Number 3, Maister HARLEQUIN, because he is in Masquerade as well as HUMPHREY and myself; but he lives so far off, and is so much about his own affairs in Moorfields, that we are resolved to hunt the *pole-cat* only by a couple.

We shall not take Mr. NUMSKULL paragraph by paragraph, lest we grow as tedious and insipid as his Worship, but go the nighest way to work. In the first place he says, "Master
" is

is well known, though in Masquerade; for his style discovers him, and it is as well known as his black peruke and dusky countenance." We shall turn the same upon his Worship; and though longer in Masquerade than Sir JOHN, and consequently he thinks, by sculking into holes and corners, to pass by undiscovered, we have found him out; though perhaps if he had disguised his style as much as he had done a Veteran Poet's lately, he might have passed secure and lived out of knowledge in his Garret, as he formerly had done in the *Mint*. You say, "Master EDGAR has neither capacity, learning, nor authority, for such an undertaking as the Reformation of the Stage." If it were so, thou ought'st to have more manners than to call the great Mr. ADDISON, though a shade, with many more of substance now alive, Fools. Did they not vouchsafe to club with him in several of his undertakings, and thought it no disgrace? You say, "He has done more to corrupt the Stage, than any hundred men in all England." I say, you fib most abominably (I won't say you lye, because that would fit your mouth best): I tell you again, Mr. BLOCKHEAD, that it is to him, and the three worthy persons you are pleased to call his Deputy Governors, that, I may say, have new-planted the Stage, and, by their care and industry, have brought it to the present flourishing condition. If not, how comes it to pass that they have crowded Houses?

Why does his gracious Majesty, our great and glorious Monarch, honour them with his presence, together with his Royal Highness, his undoubted Successor, and all the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom? I have this to say, that, if the People of England are disgusted at the present Managers of the Theatre, they have obstinacy enough to deny themselves the satisfaction they meet with at the Theatre, to be revenged of them. Why is not the New House crowded now? or why had not they full Audiences when the Old House had no Plays acted? Indeed, my Friend, your head seems to me like many garrets in this town, totally without furniture. But now I have brains enough (though a *Baker*) to find out your design, which was to get money; and that put you upon writing this fine piece of ale-inspired wit. But I'll hold any man ten guineas, when I have them, and I say, *done!* first, that for five pieces, rightly tipped, I'll make you write in vindication of this unfortunate great Man. But it would not be to any manner of purpose. Don't be so vain to think the success of thy paltry piece of stuff is owing to thy stupid pen, but to the names in the title. Thus the simple owl, with his eyes shut, can turn to the sun. But, indeed, thou art really an owl, and ought to have it for thy crest, if thou ever hadst a coat of thy own, because owl-light is thy light, and no other light. Thou never didst let the sun into thy garret, for fear he should bring a bailiff
 along

along with him. I wonder a modern Poet, who justly deserves the character of one from his writings and good sense, has not tanned that execrable hide of thine, for the affront thou puttedst upon him at Hampstead. But I suppose thou submissively asked his pardon; for I know thou art good at a recantation, when thy bones are in danger.

In another place you say, "But I, who really and truly intend the improvement of the Stage, will shew that I understand it better than you." I must beg leave first to describe your *Outelleets* and *Intellects*, and then let the World judge of your capacity. Your years are about sixty-five; an ugly vinegar face, that, if you had any command, you would be obeyed out of fear from your ill-nature pictured there; not out of any other motive. Your height is about some five feet four inches. You see I can give your exact measure as well as if I had taken your dimension with a good cudgel, which I'll promise you to do as soon as ever I have the good fortune to meet you, though in a Church; but I need not to have mentioned that, for your Religion is like your conscience, which has not troubled you some years. You parted with that for a place, and sold this with the said place, as you would have done your soul if any body would have given thee a half-penny for it. Your doughty paunch stands before you like a firkin of butter, and your duck-legs seem to be cast for carrying burdens. But

we should not joak at thy person, since it is of Jove's making; though, I believe, the *dough* that formed thee was the scrapings of the *trough* of Nature; and if DEUCALION had been thy father, he had knocked thee on thy head, for something of a monstrous birth, and not fit to sociate with his other hard-headed sons. Now, as to thy mind, it is a renegado to all virtue; and thy wit is like Will of the Whisp's lantern, one knows not where to find it; and in following we may be led into a ditch. Thou takest thy malice for thy Muse; and thinkest thyself inspired, when thou art really possessed with the spirit of envy and malice. Thy Works are libels upon others, and satires upon thyself; and, while they bark at men of sense, call him Knave and Fool that wrote them. Thou hast a great antipathy to thy own species; and hatest the sight of a fool but in thy glass. Thy fund of Criticism is a set of terms of art, picked out of the French translations: this for thy *Intellects*. Thou hast lived all thy life-time in defiance of good-nature; and when thou diest, if any believe in the opinion of PYTHAGORAS, we shall be plagued again with thee in the figure of an ill-natured mastiff dog. Though, for one paragraph in your Character, you ought to have your nose slit, your impious tongue cut out, and thy writing hand be baked in my *oven* when it is hottest; or, if sent to the Devil before your time, I don't think the crime would be great against God or man; for such a vile Rogue, so
opposite

opposite to all humanity, to pretend to touch upon such things, and abuse people that never wronged him, ought to be torn to pieces by his fellow-brutes. But I believe thou wilt pay for that scandal in this world, as well as the next. In one place you call my Master's Father a Trooper's Horse; when HUMPHREY knows, that remembers all his Family, that he was born of a good family, and not to a small fortune; but he preferred serving his Country to all the gifts of Fortune or Birth. But, if he really had been but of a mean birth, he might have said to thee, as CAIUS MARIUS does to SYLLA in the Play, "If thou hadst been born
 " a Beggar, still thou hadst been so:" though, to contradict this again, I believe thou wast, and raised thyself by pimping. Then you fall foul of Mr. CIBBER, "the Deputy Governor," as you call him, and tell a notorious lye, in saying "he lost six thousand pounds one season
 " without providing for his family;" when every one that knows him can tell you, that he settled three thousand pounds that very year upon his children. Again, you tax him with blasphemy, hardness of heart, &c. and I have enquired of every body that has the least acquaintance; nay, even some that hate him, without any reason; and all affirm, they never heard of the story of the Bath. Therefore it must be concluded that thou hast minted it thyself. As for his stealing and plundering other Plays to compose his own, you must know, if
 he

he had done this, he has not wronged the dead, as thou hast done, by disturbing the ashes of the immortal SHAKSPEARE, to haunt thee for using one of his children so barbarously. You must likewise call all the Town fools, for coming to see those Plays which he has writ. Pray tell me likewise, how many scribblings of thine entertain the Town? and how many impressions of thy Works have been sold? And pray let us know what was the reason we did not see your, "Gibraltar*" printed with the rest of your Works? What was printed, I think, was at your own charge; but that was, because no Bookseller would venture to reprint them, though without paying your Worship any *copy-money*, which was what you wanted. In your second Letter you seem to talk of Rules. You followed those Rules exactly in your last Dramatic Work: but I shall refer the Readers, if any, to Remarks on thy late Play, written by a School-boy, that has handled thee pretty well, though not the tithe of what thou deservest. You say, "The Author who would write an accomplished Tragedy, must know what a whole and its parts are. If, without them,

* A Comedy under this title was published by DENNIS, 1705; but omitted in the republication of his Works. It had been acted at Drury-Lane, without success; the first day it being well acted in most of its parts, but not suffered to be heard; the second day for the most part faintly and negligently acted, and consequently not seen. The scene lies at a village in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar.

" he

“ he has the finest things in the world in his Tragedy, he will come under the censure of HORACE*.”

I am sure thou never understoodst HORACE’s “ Art of Poetry,” nor ever stuck to his Rules, unless in your “ Poet and no Poet;” and if you hit on the Rules of HORACE by chance, pray tell us your success. I think you ought to say as HAMLET says, “ What should such fellows as I do above ground?”

I am an arrant Knave, “ I only make you the singular number;” but I really believe thou art weary of thy life, and therefore thou wilt provoke somebody to knock thee on thy head. You make Actors the mere parrots of the Poets, and that they know nothing but by rote; yet I believe there are but few Poets, or men of sense, but would submit to their judgments the censure of their Writings, excepting such a wretch as thyself, who can be called nothing but a Pretender to Poetry, good sense, or any thing that distinguishes a man from the vulgar. I would willingly know how long you thought of the Patron for the last Play, before you published it? Wert not thou ashamed to trouble a Nobleman, whose every single minute was of more moment than thy whole life, with such a pack of railing Billingsgate, which thou stuff thy Dedication with from beginning to end? I don’t doubt but if the Patron had taken the trouble to read it, and once thought of it

* *Infelix operis summa*, &c. See p. 358.

afterwards,

afterwards, he would have ordered his servants to have kicked thee down stairs for thy impertinence.

I am credibly informed, from persons of undoubted veracity, that this Sir JOHN EDGAR, whom you thus ingratelully treat and bespatter with your pen (as you think), once upon a time you were obliged to, to be your bail upon an extraordinary occasion, when no one else would take your word for a farthing: but you rewarded him accordingly; for when the money came to be paid (you being *non est inventus*), the creditors came upon my Master EDGAR; but when a certain person came to you and told you the matter, you, very prudently, advised Sir JOHN to skulk up and down, as your Worship has done for some years; a notable acknowledgement of the favour done you, truly ungrateful wretch. But what could any one expect from a fellow without principle or conscience? In your ingenious Epistle, you tell us, “ that there never was in the World, nor “ ever will be, a legitimate Epic or Dramatic “ Poet, but he was fond of Criticism and of “ Rules; nay, he was himself a Critick, a just, “ a great, a severe Critick, and a religious ob- “ server of Rules.” I don’t question now but thou meanest thy paltry self; but who the Devil would, beside thyself, pretend to such arrogance, without the capacity of a Ballad-monger? HUMPHREY advises me to leave off, and tells

I have read something in "The Daily Post," that pleases me mightily, and perhaps would have made HUMPHREY and I lay-by our pen, if it had been published two days sooner; that is, an Advertisement that runs in this manner:

"Ten Pounds will be paid by Mr. CIBBER, of the Theatre Royal, to any person who shall (by a legal proof) discover the Author of a Pamphlet; intituled, The Characters and Conduct of Sir JOHN EDGAR, &c."

I am only sorry he has offered so much, because the *twentieth part* would have over-valued his whole carcase. But I know the fellow that he keeps to give answers to his creditors will betray him; for he gave me his word to bring officers on the top of the house, that should make a hole through the cieling of his garret, and so bring him to the punishment he deserves. Some people think this expedient out of the way, and that he would make his escape upon hearing the least noise: I say so too. But it takes him up half an hour every night to fortify himself with his old hair trunk, two or three joint-stools, and some other lumber, which he ties together with cords so fast, that it takes him up the same time in the morning to release himself.

The

The CHARACTERS and CONDUCT of
 Sir JOHN EDGAR,
 And his THREE DEPUTY GOVERNORS,
 During the Administration of the late separate Ministry.
 In a Third and Fourth LETTER to the KNIGHT.
 With a picture of Sir JOHN,
 Drawn by a Pen, exactly after the Life.

To his Grace the Duke of NEWCASTLE.

My LORD, *March 21, 1719-20.*

ADDRESSES of this nature are but too often Petitions for favours to come. But the intention of this is to return thanks to your Grace for the Favour you did me the honour to confer upon me in November last. Your Grace, perhaps, may be inclined to believe, that my acknowledgement comes somewhat of the latest. I therefore being concerned to vindicate the reputation of my gratitude, take the liberty to assure your Grace, that I knew nothing certainly of the favour, which by your Order was conferred upon me in November last, till within this fortnight. And as I had heard

heard nothing certain of it till so long after your Grace had commanded it; for that very reason I had believed nothing of it when I did hear of it, if a Gentleman of undoubted honour had not assured me that he was present when you was pleased to give directions about it. As I knew nothing of it till within this fortnight, so all I know of it now, is the assurance which that Gentleman has given me that your Grace has ordered it: for though, depending upon that Gentleman's honour and integrity, I have endeavoured to have evidence of sense in the case, as much as I could endeavour it with any manner of decency, and without subjecting myself to be treated, in my messengers, with repeated and intolerable insolence, by that servant who received your Grace's command to convey your favour to me, I have found to my infinite surprize, that, at the very time that I have been labouring to unmask and expose an hypocritical wretch, who has had the impudence and the ingratitude publicly to affront your Grace, as far as animals of his species can affront you; at that very time one of your own domestic servants, your arrant creature, who subsists entirely by your bounty, has been diligent and industrious in giving me all the disappointment, and all the disturbance, that it has been in his power to give me; and consequently all the diversion that he could possibly give me in favour of your Grace's declared and mortal enemy.

But

But as your Grace's conferring this favour consisted in your ordering it to be done, and not in my receiving it; I am obliged to return you my humble thanks for it, as much as if I were in actual possession of it.

I am very sorry that, upon addressing myself twice to your Grace after this manner, I have been obliged each time to make a complaint to you. But I cannot absolutely despair of your pardon for it, when I consider that your Grace's honour has been more concerned in each complaint than any interest of mine. Since I made the first complaint to you, I have had the satisfaction to see that your Grace has retrieved the jurisdiction over our THEATRES, which is annexed to your office, as LORD CHAMBERLAIN OF HIS MAJESTY'S HOUSHOLD; and have had the pleasure to hear that you have mortified *four* insolent wretches, who had dared to usurp it from you.

As for the complaint which I lay before you at present, I must leave it to be determined by your Grace's wisdom and justice, whether the insolence of the late *Separate Ministry*, whether the insolence of Sir JOHN EDGAR himself, was ever so flagrant or so insupportable as that of your domestic or menial servant, who has presumed to abuse your Grace's service in the most injurious manner; to treat a person insolently, whom you had treated favourably; to intercept and retain your favour, to betray the trust reposed in him, and to controul you in your

very domain ; where, because you are most independent, you ought to be most uncontroulable.

My Lord, if your Grace should be in the least surprized at the uncommon method of conveying this complaint to you, I am inclined to believe that you will have the goodness to consider, that the subject-matter of it is a great deal more strange and more extraordinary than the manner of conveying it to you; or I appeal to all those persons of condition, who have been used to receive addresses of this nature, if they ever knew or ever heard of any thing like it, in any of their servants before.

Besides, I had a great deal of reason to believe that I had no other way of approaching your Grace; for he who has had the assurance for four months together to intercept and retain your Grace's favour, would certainly have ventured to intercept any Letter that should have come from me, or to hinder my having any personal access to you. But I believe he dare hardly do that by the little Book to which this is prefixed, and which I have here the honour to send you. If his presumption should extend so far, my comfort is, that your Grace will hear of the contents of this Epistle from a hundred of your humble servants. I am, my Lord,

Your Grace's

Most obedient, and most humble servant.

L E T.

L E T T E R III.

To Sir JOHN EDGAR.

MY DEAR KNIGHT, *March 1, 1719-20.*

SINCE I perceive that there is like to be a long commerce of Paper-civilities between *us two*, I think we could not do better, for making the correspondence perfectly easy to us both, than to continue, as we have begun, to throw off all manner of ceremony and to treat each other with that familiarity which is so becoming our long and old acquaintance. This is then one branch of the cartel established between us, that thou should'st seem not to remember that the King has made me a *Gentleman*, and that I should not fail to forget that he ever made thee a *Knight*; so that, for the future, I shall be downright WHAT-D'YE-CALL with thee; and thou, my dear Knight, shalt be plain JACK EDGAR with me. In which branch of the cartel, thou hast by much the advantage of me: for my diminutive honour was established by no less than two Patents, the one granted by the late Queen, and the other by His present Majesty; whereas thine was conferred only by a transitory blow given upon shoulder-blade; which when some jeering ma-

licious persons heard of, they said, “ they rejoiced that honour was got so near as within a foot of thy *pericranium*.”

But now to enter upon business. How agreeably was I surprized with that notable distinction in the beginning of thy Eleventh Paper, p. 86, which makes thy apology for thy going by an *Alias*: and that is, that when a man goes by an *Alias*, in order to commit a robbery, or a murder, or lye with his neighbour's wife, why that is not so well: but when an old Soldier of the Queen takes up a *nom-de-guerre*, only for the promotion of virtue, why that is a laudable action. Now here cannot I forbear for my life using the same expression to you, which was formerly used to another old soldier*:

Di vestram fidem!

*Quanti est sapere! Nunquam accedo ad te, quin abs te
abeam doctior †.*

For my part, I have all along been weak enough to believe, that to go by an *Alias* is a manifest cheat, and that every impostor means *interest*, and not *virtue*. But this notable distinction has almost convinced me, that if the writer of a Libel puts but a sham name to it, he has a dispensation by that *Alias* to injure, slander, and threaten, all that is powerful and

* THRASO, in the “Eunuch” of TERENCE, Act IV. Sc. vii. 20.

† ‘Oh! gracious Heavens!

‘Of what advantage is it to be wise!

‘I ne'er approach, but I go wiser from you.’ COLMAN.
noble

noble in Great Britain: but that if any one pretends to write even a just Satire, upon the vilest *Poetaster* or *Politicafter*, between Dover and the Orcades, without putting any name at all to it; why the action is abominable, it cries aloud for the extremest vengeance, and deserves death without mercy. But, honest JACK EDGAR, I have one scruple in my head. BOILEAU was certainly a man of true judgement, of nice honour, and a very just and admirable Satirist. His censures were always just; and so were his praises, if you except a very few addressed to his Great Monarch. Merit and virtue were always sacred to him, and Vice and Folly the objects of his scorn and hatred. Now when he published a Book of Satires, which were chiefly leveled at the EDGARS and IRONSIDES who flourished then at Paris, that is, at a number of coxcombs who dared to appear upon Parnassus without any lawful summons thither, or, in plain English, without either genius or judgement; you know very well, JACK EDGAR, that he put no name to his Book,

The violence and virulence of the contending parties in England have, I am afraid, been one great cause why we have had no just Satire in England since the Author of "Hudi-bras" published his, which seems to me to be a very just one, on Hypocrisy. But you are not to be told, that the Author of it put no name to it. We have since had Libels which have passed for Satires, as "Absalom

“and Achitophel,” “The Medal,” “Mac Flecko,” and “The Dispensary.” They are indeed; if you please, beautiful Libels; but they are every where full of flattery or slander, and a just Satire admits of neither. In the two first, how many were abused only for being true to the Religion and Liberties of their Country? And on the other side, some were extolled only for being false to both. The attempt to lessen SHADWELL in “Mac Flecko” is every whit as unworthy of Satire; for SHADWELL pretended to no species of Poetry but the Comic, in which he was certainly very much superior to DRYDEN; as the latter acknowledges by a very fair implication in his Preface to “The State of Innocence,” which was written before the quarrel between them began. The business of Sir SAMUEL GARTH, in his “Dispensary,” was to expose much better Physicians than himself, for no other reason but because they were not of his opinion in the affair of the *Dispensary*. Now though these were Libels, and very injurious, yet the Authors justly thought it more creditable to suffer them to be published without any name, rather than to make use of false ones.

I am heartily glad, my dear Friend, that I have pleased thee so, by saying that thou hast done more harm to the Stage than any hundred men in all England; “for,” sayst thou, “the world is so wicked, that it is hardly a disparagement to be great even in *ill*.” But I am afraid, honest JACK, thou mistakest me; for,
when

when I accused thee of doing this harm to the Stage, I did not affirm that thou didst it altogether through a sinister design, or a wicked motive of interest; but that there was always a mixture with the other two, of want of knowledge and judgement. And though it may be reputable in this wicked world to be great in *ill*, I believe it will hardly be creditable to be great in *folly*. I did not say but that there may be a very wise man, who may know nothing of Theatrical matters: but then this person who does not know them, must not pretend to know them, nor to dictate to the world in an affair which he does not at all understand; for there is a *wise* and a *knowing* ignorance, an ignorance that reflects upon itself, and restrains him who has it from exposing or hurting himself or others, by undertaking things which he does not in the least understand.

And now, my dear Friend, thou art for mounting that War-horse afresh, from which I shewed thee descending. Methinks I see thee upon him in all thy accoutrements, thy cocked hat, thy broad-sword, thy shoulder-belt, and thy jack-boots; and a hugeous merry figure thou makest upon him. But when thou talkest of planting thyself behind King WILLIAM the Third, against LEWIS the Fourteenth, does not thy memory fail thee a little? If thou meanest planting thyself behind the coach of King WILLIAM, I have nothing to say against that. But I never heard a great deal of thy attendance on him when he got on horse-back. He sel-

dom *held* the honour of thy company, to express myself in the quaint dialect of thy Elder Brother of Brentford, either on the Boyne, or the Shannon, or the Maese, or the Sambre. Thou hadst that aversion for the effusion of Christian blood, that, rather than go into the Field with thy broad-sword, and thy dead-doing hand, to make piteous slaughter of the enemy, thou madest it thy choice to stay here at home, and make wicked jokes with thy Irish goose-quill, upon the *Funerals* * of thy Friends.

But here, my dear Friend, thou art in a terrible fuss about going to law. Thou pretendest to be even mad, that thou art hindered from going to law; the law is not open to thee; thou hast not the freedom of the law. But,

Quare peregrinum, vicinia rauca reclamation †.

HOR. 1 Ep. xvii. 62.

For do not we all know that thou art up to thy ears in law; that thou hast been up to the ears in law these twenty years; and wilt be up to the ears in law, if thou shouldst live these hundred years? Can we forbear laughing then, to hear thee cry out, that thou shouldst be the happiest man in the world, if thou couldst but go to law? Ah, my dear Friend, I could name some certain persons, who if they were no more restrained from going to law than thou art, would

* "The Funeral, or Grief-à-la-mode," a Comedy, 1702.

† 'His oaths unheeded echo through the street,
' While the hoarse rabble roar, A Cheat! a Cheat!

be happy indeed. But what is it that hinders thee from going to law? The gate of Madam Justice, like that of Hell, is open at all hours. Free ingress is denied to none that have but money to pay their entrance; egress, I must confess, is not altogether so easy. What is it then that thou pretendest should restrain thee from going to law? Hast thou not money to pay thy lawyers? Or art thou suing some unaccountable debtors, who, having money to spare for their liberalities and their profusions, have that irregular greatness of soul, that they scorn to pay a just debt till it comes to execution; and who, instead of discharging, or so much as owing the obligation they have to thee, pretend to keep thee at arms-length, and bid thee open defiance? Should that be the case, I believe I can give thee wholesome advice. Know then, that there is a certain notable Serjeant at Law, with a hard name*, who, if thou repairest to him, will instruct thee in an admirable method of dealing with such persons. But at the same time I cannot help acquainting my dear friend, that he ought to be ashamed to have the word *Law* in his mouth, as long as he pretends to undo an Act of the Legislature, by an Act of the Executive Power.

We are come now from law, by a whirl of imagination, to *Conjurers* and *Hoop-petticoats*. But why will you go abroad for intelligence,

* Serjeant PENGELLY. See p. 72.

which

which you may have at home? or go for counsel to the Deputy, when you may be advised by the Principal? For does not every mortal who reads your Papers say, “the Devil in Hell is in you?” Besides, how come you so earnest to get a patent for the *Hoop*, which you were so eager to demolish in your wonderful *Speculations*?

But, my dear Friend, thou hast been pleased, in this thy Eleventh Paper, to return the title of *Pedant*, by which I saluted thee in one of my former, according to thy usual method of giving what is thy own, to those who do not in the least deserve it. Though I plainly perceive that thou art not quite so proud of this title, as thou art of that of *Knight*; yet to shew thee that I saluted thee with proper greeting, I shall endeavour to prove, that however disagreeable the sound of *Pedant* may be to thee, thou art certainly *the thing*; and in order to this, will endeavour to shew thee what a *Pedant* and *Pedantry* are, of which in thy *Lucubrations* and *Speculations* thou hast so often treated,

‘ In proper terms, such as men smatter,
‘ When they throw out, and miss the matter.’ HUD.

The *Pedant* then is, literally and originally speaking, he who has the instruction of boys; and the *Pedant* in the figurative appellation, which is now come to be the common one, is he who in his conversation with men, or in his writings to men, shews the qualities of an instructor of Boys. Now Boys not being come

to the use of their judgement, nor the force of their imagination, are chiefly instructed by memory. Their instructors therefore never argue with them; but only dictate to them, and make use of authority instead of reason with them. And to exert their authority the more, and to cause it to make the stronger impression, they dictate with a haughty and imperious air, which sometimes is augmented to such a degree, by weakness, ill-breeding, pride, and choler, that it becomes insupportable even to their dearest friends and relations. And if their pupils are backward in receiving their instructions, or give them the slightest provocation, they treat them with all those flowers of rhetorick, with which those persons are always inspired, who frequent the sonorous Nymphs of the Flood, that haunt the banks of the vocal Thames between the Bridge and the Tower*.

Thus have I shewn, that the Pedant, in the acceptation in which the word is commonly used, has the same qualities with an instructor of Boys; the chief of which qualities are a dogmatizing spirit, a presumptuous arrogance, and a soaring insolence.

Now the Man of Sense, and the Gentleman, being diametrically opposite to the Pedant, must be one, who in his conversations and in his writings, has the qualities of one who converses with or writes to Men. Now he who knows

* The Nymphs of Billingsgate still keep up their prerogative.

the world, and converses with or writes to MEN, always *argues*, and never *dictates*; as well knowing that reasonable creatures are to be convinced by reason, and not by authority, And as Reason and Truth are calm and modest things, he never assumes the *dictatorian* air, is never haughty, never insolent.

But if at any time he barely asserts, he does it with modesty, if not with diffidence; as very well knowing, that, though a man, by an insolent decisive air, may pass upon those who are governed by fancy or opinion, it never fails to render him suspected to those who are resolved never to submit to any opinion till they be convinced by Reason; which latter sort only may be truly said to be Men. He therefore treats his Companion or Reader with respect, and would look upon it as a scandalous indignity, the breaking-out into those tropes and figures which are so much in use with those who converse with or who write to Boys, of what age, or rank, or condition whatsoever those Boys are; whether they are in infancy, or youth, or virility, or gravity, or decrepitude; whether they are ignorant or learned Boys, of the lees of the people, or of Equestrian dignity.

And now, by applying all this to my very worthy Friend, I make no doubt but to make it appear, not only that thou hast the spirit of Pedantry in thee, equal to any of thy contemporaries or predecessors, but that thou hast by nature and genius what they have acquired by industry

industry and hard labour (for thou art certainly an *illiterate* Pedant); and art the very Cock Pedant of all the nest of Pedants. For besides that in thy Writings, whether Papers or Pamphlets, whether LUCUBRATIONS, SPECULATIONS, GUARDIAN, LOVER, or ENGLISHMAN, I hardly ever knew thee *argue* once; thou hast carried authority to a more ridiculous height than ever Pedant before thee did. For if the rest of thy Brethren have had the extravagance and the presumption to bear down human reason by downright human authority, they have still had so much shadow of modesty left, as to attempt it by the authority of others, and not by their own. If shoals of modern Pedants have arrived to that height of extravagance as to pretend to decide disputes, where Reason alone ought to prevail, by an *Ipsè dixit*; yet none before thyself has had the arrogance and the impudence to do it by an *Ipsè dixi*. But thou hast often set up thy own authority, not only against human reason, but against all other human authority. Thou hast thought thy own dogmatic assertion enough to establish any opinion which thy private interest required; and, like an absolute Monarch upon the throne of Pedantry, hast believed it sufficient to say, *Car tel est notre plaisir*.

I must confess that several of the TATLERS have Wit and humour in them, a fine raillery, and an agreeable pleasantry; and some of the SPECTATORS likewise have some of these good

qualities ; but I have powerful reasons to believe, that for the most part the good qualities in those Writings are derived from thy Correspondents, and that only the Pedantry of them is thine. For when thou endeavouredst to entertain the World with a Paper called the GUARDIAN, after that Mr. ADDISON had abandoned thee, and Mr. MAYNWARING was entirely employed against the EXAMINER, I found nothing in that Paper of the qualities of the other, but only thy eternal dogmatizing, and the haughty and pedantic air of a School-master. Nay, in this Paper thou wert dwindled into a Pedant, even according to the literal acceptation of the words ; and appearedst every morning with thy formal instructors amidst thy Boys and thy Girls.

I come next to the vindication of thy beauty. But here, my dear JACKY-BOY, let us be serious a little. Thou knowest I am thy Friend and wish thee well. I would not have thee make thyself a jest and a by-word, and a butt to all the world. Thy beauty, Man ! Why thou may'st as well brag in thy old age of thy dancing a jig ! I never heard thee mentioned by any woman for these three years last past, but thou either went'st by the appellation of THE BLACK KNIGHT with her, or she said she could resemble thee to nothing so nearly as to the KNAVE of CLUBS. I received the following Letter from a Friend, immediately upon the publication of the 11th and 12th THEATRE.

“ DEAR

“DEAR SIR, Feb. 13, 1719-20.

“YOURS of yesterday I recieved this morning. I have seen the noble KNIGHT’s production which you mention, and could not but laugh to read of the Knight’s tears. I suppose they were produced by the Author of the two Letters questioning his *beauty*, which he takes some pains in a most ridiculous manner to vindicate. He seems patient enough under the confutation of his reason and understanding, to which he replies not one word. But the *Beau Garçon* of sixty cannot bear an attack on his *beauty*, and is forced to write Letters to himself, like other old Beaux, from supposed Ladies, to vindicate what he never possessed. The KNIGHT has discovered a great deal of malice, and uttered a great deal of slander, in his last paper; but this Verse of DRYDEN’s will fit his performance:

“In his felonious heart though venom lies,
“It does but touch his Irish pen, and dies.

“I am, &c.”

This is only under one man’s hand; but this, you may depend upon it, is the voice of the people. And whereas thou sayest, “that thou art so far from having a dusky countenance, that all orders of men smile on thee;” thou puttest me in mind of part of a Dialogue
between

between Monsieur NATHANIEL PARIS, and his Cousin HIPPOLITA, in "The Gentleman Dancing-Master" of the late Mr. WYCHERLEY. It is in the beginning of the third Act.

"*Monsf.* Am I so happy den, Cousin, in the *bon* quality of making people laugh ?

"*Hipp.* Mighty happy, Cousin.

"*Monsf.* *De-grace* ?

"*Hipp.* Indeed.

"*Monsf.* Nay, *sans vanitie*, I observe that where-soever I come; I make every-body merry—*sans vanitie, da.*

"*Hipp.* I do believe you do.

"*Monsf.* Nay, as I march in de street, I can make de dull apprentice laugh and sneer.

"*Hipp.* This Fool is as apt I see as an ill Poet, to mistake the contempt and scorn of people for applause and admiration."

Thus far "The Gentleman Dancing Master." But tell one thing, my dear Friend: has an OWL a dusky countenance? Most certainly, a very reverend dusky countenance. Now, does not an OWL, where-soever it appears, make every mortal smile?

And now if I should call upon thee, according to thy pretended desire, to see what treatment a Ghost would give a Mortal, I have reason to question very much, whether thou wouldest appear to me; for thou knowest I am in the number of those things which, during thy whole life-time, have always been most
terrible

SIR JOHN EDGAR. 401

terrible to thee; I mean, in the number of thy Creditors. Thou hast owed me these two years twelve Guineas, for the first payment of twelve certain Receipts, which, upon taking the Receipts, thou didst promise to pay in a Week. But, since that time, I never could see either the money or the Receipts; so that, if I should enquire for thee, the answer that SNUG thy servant would make, would certainly be, "the Ghost will not appear to-day."

I am, &c.

L E T T E R I V.

To Sir JOHN EDGAR.

MY EXCELLENT FRIEND,

March 21, 1719-20.

I Come now to consider thy Twelfth Paper, in which thou pretendest to draw Pictures; for which thou art as much qualified as thou art to criticize; for to draw characters and criticize requires the same talent, that is, Judgment, which God and Nature have never vouchsafed to endow thee with. And, therefore, all who know thee an arrant bungler, that is, all who do know thee, are very well satisfied, that

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they

they are no more to expect any more resemblance in thy draughts, than from a Sign-post Painter, nay; not the twentieth part so much; for no Sign-post Painter was ever yet such a block-head as to draw the picture of a *Rat*, when he designed that of an *Elephant*; or to draw the figure of an *Elephant*, when he designed that of a *Rat*. But now to whom is it not known, that thou hast given us the Picture of a *Wren*, instead of that of an *Eagle*; and the Picture of an *Eagle*, instead of that of a *Wren*. And after thou hast called thy dead Friend *Wren*, and thyself *Eagle*, does not every body know, that thou hast not the knowledge of ADAM in thee, nor art qualified to give names to creatures agreeable to their natures? But as thou art able to draw nobody; nobody can have any occasion to draw thee. Thy name alone is thy picture, and comprehends as severe and as entire a Satire in it as BOILEAU says that of the *As* does;

*Dont le nom seul en soy comprend une Satire **,

Thou canst draw no Picture but it wants a name to distinguish it; no one who names thee has occasion to draw any Picture of thee.

What! art not thou the famous Distinguisher, the celebrated Knower of the World, and of Merit, who art continually endeavouring to bespatter and expose Ministers of State, of admirable abilities; and who have done the most

* ' Whose name alone's a Satire on his race.'

important

important services for their King, their country, and the whole Christian World; and among whom, I have convincing reasons to believe, there are such who are as much thy superiors in solid learning, or in polite literature, in wit, and graceful court-like behaviour, and the fine conversation of Gentlemen, as they are above thee in sagacity and penetration, in the profoundness of State-affairs, and the depths of Politicks? Art not thou, I say, the famous Distinguisher, the celebrated Knower of the World, and of Merit, who, at the same time that thou art vainly and impertinently endeavouring to expose and ridicule these illustrious Patriots, art most ridiculously attempting to make two or three paltry Players pass upon the World for men of manly, generous, elegant, ornamental qualities? After this, need any one care whom it is thou censurest, and whom it is thou commendest? And yet, to make thy judgement manifest still further, at the same time that thou art endeavouring to expose those whom the King most confides in, and whom he most values; thou art at every turn printing thy insipid Madrigals in the praise of his Majesty; and still the burthen of thy Song is the same with that of an old *Starling*, who is moulting his borrowed plumes in a cage, “DICK is a “Bird for the King! DICK is a Bird for the “King!” But how much preferable to thine is the Song of the *Starling*! Though it does not mean what it says, like thee; yet it does

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not,

not, like thee, mean something contrary to it. The Bird itself is not such a beast as not to know, that a libel upon all a man's best Friends can never be interpreted a panegyrick upon the man. Thus, we see, thou never censurest, and never commendest by reason and by judgement, because reason and judgement are things which thou never hadst. But thy dislike, or approbation, proceeds perpetually from thy passions, thy malice, and thy interest; but especially from the last, which is the great DIANA.

I come now to an error of thy understanding, about which I shall use the more words, because thou sayst thou hast so often repeated it; and that is, "It is generally for want of judgement, that men set up for the character of being judicious."

And here I cannot for my soul forbear talking to thee in the language of thy Brother of BRENTFORD: "Thou art mighty ignorant, poor man! My dear Friend is very silly, egad he is." For to what purpose can this jingle of words serve, but to rattle in the noddle of a *wrong-headed* fellow? For was there ever any mortal who was not reckoned a beast and an idiot by his own acquaintance, but who set up for the character of being judicious in the profession which he had embraced? Does not a *Shoe-maker*, a *Taylor*, a *Hofier*, set up for the character of being judicious in the nature and fashion and make of Shoes, and Stockings, and Coats, and Breeches, and Cloaks? Does not
a Mer-

a *Mercer* set up for the character of being judicious in the nature and fashion of Stuffs and Silks, and Brocades? Does not a *Stock-jobber*, or an *Exchange-broker* set up for the character of being judicious in the turns, the rise and fall, of the Public Funds? When ten or more Clergymen preach for a vacant Benefice, does not each of them pretend to be more skilful and judicious in the ways of salvation than his other Antagonists? Wouldst thou see a Lawyer in an important cause, who should tell thee seriously that he did not set up for having more judgement than his neighbours in Statute and Common Law? Wouldst thou trust thy life, upon a dangerous crisis, in the hands of a Physician, who should assure thee that he had no more judgement in Physick than one of his Patients? But to come to Authors; does not every one who publishes a Book in any Art or Science pretend to instruct at least some of his Readers? But which of his Readers can he pretend to instruct, but those who are more ignorant than himself in the matters of which he treats? But, if he supposes that some of his Readers are more ignorant than himself in the matters of which he treats, does not he set up for the character of being more judicious in those matters than they are?

When COPERNICUS published his System of the World, did not he pretend to a little more judgement in *Astronomy* than some who had gone before him, and others who lived at the

same time with him, and who still adhered to the Ptolemaic System? When DES CARTES published his “System of Natural Philosophy,” did not he, by those wonderful discoveries of the motion of the Earth, and others, pretend to a little more judgement in that science, and to penetrate further into the secrets of Nature, than those who had gone before him? When the celebrated HARVEY gave the world his treatise of the Circulation of the Blood, could he have obliged and adorned the Commonwealth of Learning by that noble and useful discovery, if he had not set up for the character of having more judgement in *Anatomy* than either his Predecessors or his Contemporaries? And when Sir ISAAC NEWTON, whose merit is above what the Muses themselves can commend, obliged and astonished the Learned World by his immortal and unparalleled Treatises, those Treatises which have made him an Honour to his Country, an Advancer of the noblest Learning, and an Enlarger of the Empire of the Mind; what, did he pretend to no more judgement in *Mathematicks*, than the herd of Mathematicians?

Is it not now most apparent, that every one sets up for the character of being judicious in his own Profession, and his own Art? Why then should not that be allowed to a Poet, which is granted to all the rest? And why should it be denied by thee of all men; and be denied in a Paper, in which you are doing the
 very

very same thing which you pretend to ridicule in others? For are not you pretending to write a Paper here for the improvement of the Stage? And how dost thou pretend to improve it? By endeavouring to impose upon the World, according to thy laudable custom, and setting up for the character of being more judicious in Theatrical matters than most of your Readers; or by speaking the truth, and telling the World that thou art a very silly fellow, and an eternal jabberer about matters of which thou understandest not a syllable? What is become now of that fine maxim, “that it is generally for want of Judgement that Men set up for the Character of being judicious?” Why thou arrant Trifler! thou ridiculous *Maxim-monger*! Thou hast a hundred such pretty jingles in thy wonderful SPECULATIONS; I mean, the *Speculations* which are peculiarly thine, and to which thou hast set thy mark; maxims which are calculated for understandings of the same latitude with thine, and which are under the same elevation of Pole; maxims which shewed thee as blind as HECTOR, or POMPEY, or CÆSAR’S offspring, that came into the world but yesterday. But, as I have now some leisure to consider them, I will try if by my little art I can couch the cataracts of thy understanding.

But the mischief of it is, that there is this difference between a four-legged Puppy and a two legged one; that, whereas a four-legged one is blind but for nine days, a two legged

one does not only come into the world blind, but for the most part continues to be blind when he comes to be an old dog.

To this blessed Maxim thou art pleased to subjoin these words; “Every body of any standing in Town knows that the dullest and most stupid Writers we have had, have set up for Criticks.” Why yes, truly, this has been the cant for forty years together, among persons of thy noble understanding. The cry has gone round, that it is impossible for any one, who has shewn himself a Critick by his prose, to shew himself a good Poet by his verse; which was occasioned first by the late Mr. RYMER’s publishing a very dull Tragedy of “EDGAR*,” after he had published a book in Prose in which there was a great deal of good and just Criticism. It is true, indeed, EDGAR was so absurd a Monarch, that he seemed to be a forerunning type of thyself, who wert to strut upon the Stage in the succeeding Century under the same heroic name. From this accident, the Poetasters of the age, who believed it their interests to fix a brand upon Criticisms, immediately cried out, and made all their disciples repeat after them, that no

* “Edgar,” a tragedy in blank verse, first published in 1678; and again, under the title of “The English Monarch,” in 1691. The scene is fixed in London; and the unity of time is so well preserved, that the whole action lies between 12 at noon and 10 at night. The plot is taken from the Old English Historians. BIOG. DRAMAT.

Critick could be a Poet; not considering that one of the greatest of the Roman Poets, and one of the greatest of the French, were Criticks by profession, as well as Poets; and “set up for the character of being judicious in their own art:” nay, and had the impudence to appear publicly out of humour with some Popular Scribblers who had had success.

But to return to Mr. RYMER. Whether that Gentleman’s ill performance proceeded from his want of imagination, without which no man can make a Poet, let him have what judgement he will; or from his want of exercise and practice; we should have been better able to determine, if that judicious Gentleman had writ more. If Mr. RYMER’s Tragedy is an ill one, neither SHAKESPEARE’S nor BEN JONSON’S first Dramatic Poems were Master-pieces; and neither BEN nor SHAKESPEARE, if they had left nothing behind them but these, would have passed with posterity for great Poets. But, whatever was the reason of Mr. RYMER’S miscarriage, if these Authors had only inferred from it, that a man may sometimes have the theory of an Art, which yet he may not be fully qualified to practise with success, nothing could have been more just. But for them to draw not only a general inference from a particular fact, but an inference so very absurd, as that a man cannot practise an art with success, for no other reason but because he has shewn that he understands it, was bestial and abominable. I am afraid, my dear Friend, that it will be found,
upon

upon enquiry, that the very contrary of this is an eternal truth. He who practises an Art with success, which he does not understand, is most infallibly an ill Artist, notwithstanding all his success; and is indebted for that success to the gross ignorance and barbarity of those whom he has the luck to please.

If ever that assertion, “that the dullest and “most stupid Writers which we have had “have set up for Criticks,” is proved, it must be by thy example. For as there is not one Author alive who has set up for Criticism so much as thou hast, there is not in all *Great Britain* so stupid and so dull a Writer as thou art, when thou art left to thyself.

To make good both the branches of that assertion. When old BICKERSTAFF published his *TATLERS*, did he set up for a Critick? did he set up for the character of being judicious or not? Let us see what he says himself, in his Dedication to the late Mr. MAYNWARING:

“The general purpose of this Paper is, to expose
 “the false arts of life, and to pull off the disguises
 “of Cunning, Vanity, and Affectation; and to re-
 “commend a general Simplicity in our Dress, our
 “Discourse, and our Behaviour. No Man has a
 “better judgement for the discovery, or a nobler
 “spirit for the contempt of all Imposture, than your-
 “self; which qualities render you the most proper
 “Patron for the Author of these Essays.”

Thus

Thus far old BICKERSTAFF. Now this, as I take it, is setting up for something more than the character of being barely judicious; it is setting up for sagacity; it is setting up for penetration; which are the accomplishments and the perfections of judgement. Now, if it be true, that it is generally for want of judgement that a man sets up for the character of being judicious; what shall we say of the man who sets up for the character of sagacity, for the character of penetration? For such an one arrogates a hundred times more to himself; than one who sets up for the character of being barely judicious in passing his judgement on the Works of Authors. A Book, alas! has but one meaning; whatever it speaks it thinks. But the Heart of Man has folds, has doubles, and recesses innumerable. Yet through all these hast thou pretended to pierce, and consequently hast pretended to Criticism of a nobler and more difficult nature than any Author living. But though thou didst pretend to do all this, what thou really didst of it was by the sagacity and penetration of others. And when thou hadst got ingenious tools to write thee into an income of two thousand pounds a-year, thou couldst not be satisfied till, like the most dull and stupid of all Writers, thou hadst writ thyself out of it again.

The Courtship which Sir MARTIN MAR-ALL made to Mrs. MILLESANT, and that which thou didst formerly make to Dame FORTUNE,
and

and to Madam FAME, will certainly make a parallel that will run upon all four. Sir MARTIN had a mind to Mrs. MILLESANT; but, not having capacity nor address to gain her, he prevailed upon WARNER to do that for him, but to do it in such a way that Sir MARTIN was to have the credit and the benefit of it. Now, the Lady being a lover of Musick, Sir MARTIN was to give her a lesson upon the *Theorbo*, and a Song. In order to this, Sir MARTIN is to appear in a balcony, at a distance from her, with a lute in his hand, and the motions of a thrummer, and the grimaces of a Singer; while WARNER is to sing and to play for him behind the curtain. Well! all this was very well concerted; but the success of all was to depend upon the signal agreed upon between them; and that was, that Sir MARTIN should leave off his grimaces, and his thrummings upon his dumb lute, upon the ringing of a bell. But the foolish Knight was so full of his Mistress and himself, that though the bell rung twice, yet his hand and jaws still went, and exposed him to the scorn of his Mistress and the Chambermaid.

I will leave thee, my dear Friend, to apply all this to thyself. But I cannot forbear taking notice, that it was very imprudent in thee not to leave off upon the bell's ringing twice; that is, upon the bell that rung for Mr. MAYNWARING's and Mr. ADDISON's Funeral,

I come

I come now to some of the pretended facts of which thou hast been pleased to accuse me; and I will begin with that which relates to Mr. CONGREVE and Mr. ADDISON, "upon whom," thou sayst, "I have been more severe than upon any other persons." As for being severe upon Mr. CONGREVE, it is a figure in speech, which, JEREMY says, in "Love for Love," interlards the greatest part of his conversation. As for Mr. ADDISON, I must confess, I did write the "Remarks upon CATO;" but I did not basely flatter and fawn upon Mr. ADDISON while he was living, and then more basely insult him as soon as he was dead. I did not, while he was living, write a flattering, fulsome Dedication to him, in which I made him a thousand times greater than myself; and then, as soon as he was dead, write a flattering, fulsome Dedication to myself, in which I made myself a thousand times greater than him. A little below there is another extraordinary figure, where thou pretendest to insinuate, that I have been used by some people so as a man of honour ought not to be used. Who are those people? Thou canst not, thou darest not, name them; because then the lye would appear too gross and palpable. I will tell thee whom I have used at that rate; and that is, thy Friend, thy Priest, thy Worshiper, the Viceroy. Thou either knowest, or oughtest to know, that I have beat him; and I do not know but I might have been provoked to do as much by his Wooden God,

God, if he had dared to offer to my face what he has basely writ. Thou sayest that my Pamphlet is so cruel, that it could be written by none but a Coward. I believe I have given other sort of proofs of my courage, than one who, in the time of a bloody war for twenty years together, took the King's pay as a Soldier, and never was in any action; than one who, for twenty years together, fought as he writ, by proxy. The cruelty of a Coward consists not in words, but actions. Then, then was the cruelty, then was the cowardice, when, upon a certain night in November last, three villainous foot-pads robbed a poor defenceless passenger of all that he had, and said that they did it by a deputation from thee. And thou wert afterwards pleased to abet this action, and call those foot-pads "men of manly, elegant, generous, ornamental qualities." *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* From hence arose those *Crocodile* tears, which thou hast shewed in some of thy Papers.

Didst not thou shew thy courage in a notable manner, by giving such language in thy THEATRES, after having declared against Single Combat by thy *Lucubrations*, and against Siege and Battle by thy *Conduet*? Was it not bravely and heroically done, to call upon both the Living and the Dead to revenge thy cause upon one of Sixty-five*? And to endeavour to set both the *King's* Horse and Foot Guards upon one of Sixty-five*? For my part, I have always firmly be-

* See the THEATRE, N° XII. p. 104.

lieved

lieved that I have more true courage than any one, than whom I have more understanding; for if Fortitude is a virtue, of which I know no man who doubts, it must depend upon the reason, and not upon the complexion; but if it depends upon the reason, then the stronger the reason is, the stronger must be the virtue. And I have always thought, that as God and Nature have given to man the dominion over beast, they have so far given to reasonable men the dominion over blockheads, that they are rather born to scorn them than to fear them. And I appeal to all my acquaintance in Town, of whom there are several living of 30 and 40 years standing, if these sentiments were ever contradicted by an action or accident of my life.

But if, by the continual fears thou hast given me, thou meanest, as thou seemest to insinuate, my apprehensions of persons to whom I may owe money; thou of all men hast as little reason to upbraid me with these fears as the others. For who was it that lay skulking so many years at the *Tilt-yard Sutler's*, when he was so strongly possessed with fear, that he could not think himself in safety, unless he had the Horse and Foot Guards for his security; when the late facetious DANIEL PURCELL gave him the name of Major-general HIDE; and the chief maxim of his life seemed to be, *Qui benè latuit, benè vixit?* If I had the misfortune to be an insolvent debtor, I should have this

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apology to make for myself, that my insolvency would not be owing to any extravagance or want of taking pains, but to the hard, not to say the unjust usage which I have met with in the world; and in great part to your injustice and barbarity, and the injustice and barbarity of those who derived their power from you. The being an insolvent debtor is rather to be pitied than condemned, when it has not been occasioned either by profuseness or idleness; but the being in debt is both odious and contemptible in one who is at the same time a Squanderer, a Bankrupt, and an Oppressor. But yet, to shew you that I am not in the condition which you imagine, I have for these last four years lodged continually in the neighbourhood of Whitehall; and I appeal to the Honourable Board of Green-cloth, if, during that time, so much as one complaint has been preferred against me.

I should now say something of the falsehoods of which you accuse me in my two former Letters, and of the ingratitude of which thou pretendest to accuse me, for writing against those who have endeavoured to serve me. As these two Letters will shortly be followed by a *Fifth* and a *Sixth*, I shall endeavour to shew, in them, who are the Lovers of Truth, and who are the Slanderers, who are the Benefactors, and who the Unjust and Oppressors. And then, if with thy little understanding thou hast not lost all sense of shame, I shall cause thy *dusky* countenance

tenance to turn *red* as the Morning does, or as a *Lobster* boiled.

But having said more already than I designed to do at present, and you having heard more than thou hadst a mind to hear, I shall take my leave for a little time; only adding, that as thou hast formed a phantom in thy mind, which thou would'st pass upon the world for thy Friend, and which every impartial man who has seen it has declared to be just as like to me, as a *Wren* is like to the late Mr. ADDISON, or as thou art like to an *Eagle*; I shall, by way of gratitude or acknowledgement, subjoin to these Letters the picture of my dear Friend; and I appeal to all who shall see it, if I am not the happier Painter of the two, and draw the livelier resemblance. And so, at present, my very worthy Friend, I heartily bid thee farewell.

The PICTURE of Sir JOHN EDGAR.

SIR JOHN EDGAR, of the County of ——— in Ireland, is of a middle stature, broad shoulders, thick legs, a shape like the picture of SOMEBODY over a Farmer's chimney, a short chin, a short nose, a short forehead, a broad flat face, and a dusky countenance. He used to compare himself to an *Eagle*; and to oblige the first fool that he met with, to give it under

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his

his hand that he was so. But neither his nose, nor his eyes, nor his discernment, nor his broad, flat face, nor his dusky countenance, were held to be *aquiline*. He was believed to be in all these more like to another bird than an *Eagle*. Yet, with such a shape, and such a face, he discovered at Sixty, that he took himself for a Beauty, and appeared to be more mortified upon his being told he was ugly, than he was by any reflection that was ever made upon his honour or his understanding.

He is a Gentleman born, witnesses *Himself*; of a very honourable family, certainly of a very *ancient* one; for his ancestors flourished in Tipperary long before the English ever set foot in Ireland. He has testimony of this, more authentic than the Heralds office, or than any human testimony; for GOD has marked him more abundantly than he did CAIN, and stamped his Native Country upon his face, his understanding, his writings, his actions, his passions, and, above all, his vanity. The Hibernian brogue is still upon all these, though long habitude and length of days have worn it from off his tongue.

He is the greatest pretender, but one, of the age in which he lives; a pretender both to Understanding and Virtue, but especially to the latter. But some malicious people have thought that he made constant court to that venerable lady, not out of any affection which he had for her person, but because he was struck by the charms

charms of the jointure which he believed might follow her. And they were confirmed in this opinion, by observing the quarrels which he had every day with one or other of her four daughters. Yet this pretended passion did him great service. It was to him *Major Domo, Factotum, Housekeeper, Cook, Butler, Taylor, and Sempstresses*; because we live in a noble climate, where persons, who are universally known to be cheats and sharpers, keep their coaches by being so.

Yet to one of the daughters of that venerable Lady he paid great respect in public, *videlicet*, to Madam JUSTICE; and to gain her favour, and obtain her protection, he thought it not beneath him to admit the meanest of her servants and officers into the greatest familiarity with him. So that there was no respect of persons among them. But it was JACK and TOM, and WILL and HAL, and DICK, with them. But he always combined with these her servants to injure and abuse her in private, and unknown to her played a hundred pranks with them, to the prejudice of her interest and reputation; which were not long kept so very private, but the world took notice that neither he nor the servants cared one farthing for the mistress they pretended to serve. He would very often do extravagant things, very seldom generous ones, and never by his good-will just ones. Yet was he a great pretender to generosity; but generosity with him was squandering away his mo-

ney upon knaves and fools who flattered him. Thus a *bubble* is a very generous creature to the *shark* who preys upon him; and a beggar is generous to the vermin that feed upon him.

He had that seeming respect for the Laws of his Country, and appeared to be so delighted with them, that though he had the happiness of enjoying them as much as the most zealous of his fellow-subjects, even as those to whom "one may say the zeal of the Law hath eaten them up;" yet, that he might be sure the correspondence between them might be for life, he had, through a greatness of soul peculiar to him, assumed a noble resolution, that would never suffer him to pay any one a farthing till it came to *execution*. Yet, notwithstanding all this, he was not satisfied; but was always crying out *Law! Law! more Law! more Law!*

He appears to be mighty zealous for the rights of the People, and to be terribly afraid of the return of the old Aristocracy, by which he has got the nick-name with some of "Aristocracy EDGAR." No man had ever so much in his mouth, benevolence and beneficence to mankind, as he; which to his creditors seem a great fable: "for," say they, "since he hates us who have most obliged him, to that degree, that he cannot endure to see our faces, how can he possibly love the rest?" He used one while to call himself "the Christian Hero," till it grew a public jest; for the people would not allow him to be a Hero, because,

cause, though he had been a Soldier so many years in the time of a bloody war, he never had been present either at siege or battle; “and he could not possibly,” they used to say, “be a Christian, because he used constantly to spend the mornings in cursing *the Household of Faith*, though they came in shoals to his levees, out of pure zeal to exhort him to do his duty.”

He valued himself exceedingly upon being a great Improver and a great Reformer; though the truth of the matter is, that he never had half skill enough to improve any thing, nor half virtue enough to reform any thing. During the time that he was Governor of the *Bear-Garden*, the Diversions of that place were more stupid and barbarous than ever they were known to be before, and the wild beasts more mischievous and untractable; and he was especially so far from reforming any thing, that it was generally observed, that the greater part of those who had been most intimate with him were very far from being more virtuous than their neighbours; though he never failed of doing one thing in order to the making them so, and that is, entering them in the School of Adversity.

Now as for TEMPERANCE, another daughter of the abovementioned venerable Lady, he caresses and courts her all the live-long day; and compliments her as the Queen of Morals, and the Empress of Life. But as soon as the night

approaches, then sparkling champaign puts an end to her reign.

He judiciously believes, that by preaching abstinence up by day-light he has made an honourable composition for his drinking three bottles by candle-light.

We may say of his **FORTITUDE** what **BUTLER** said of **HUDIBRAS's Wit**; "He may be master of a very great deal, but through abundance of Modesty is shy of making any parade of it, but reserves it for an occasion which nobody can divine." For he has declared against single combat by his writings, and against siege and battle by his conduct and actions; that is, by staying at home in a time of war, with a commission in a penniless pocket, and choosing rather to run the risk of being taken prisoner by the English, than of being killed by the French.

Now as for **PRUDENCE**, the fourth daughter, he has a magnanimity which teaches him utterly to despise her, and to regard her as an abandoned person, that prostitutes herself to the lowest mechanicks. He therefore makes it the business of his life to affront her, and abuses her in all his conversation, his writings, and his actions; of which there can be no stronger testimony than his mortally disobliging his cordial though partial Friends who raised him, and going over to a party whom he had exasperated beyond any possibility of a sincere reconciliation.

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He is so great a friend to Union, that almost all orders and ranks of Men are *united* in his person: for he has been Poet, Orator, Soldier, Officer, Projector, News-monger, Casuist, Scribe, Politician, Fish-monger, Knight, and Gold-finder; and, what is never enough to be admired, he has been all these by virtue of other men's capacities. Like a very Patentee, he has performed the Functions of all these by proxy, and by deputy. As an Author, he wrote by proxy; as a Soldier, by proxy he fought; he is so given to do every thing by proxy and by deputy, that one would swear he lies with his mistress by proxy and by deputy, as several honest worthy gentlemen of his antiquity are used to lie with theirs.

Though no man in Great Britain is so fit a subject for Satire as himself, yet has he been always writing waggish lampoons upon others. And whenever he exposes a Lord in one of his libels, he has got a trick of affronting him ten times more by way of begging his pardon.

He has been always begging something of the Government; and though he has obtained ten times more of it than he deserved, yet he grumblingly thinks they have given him nothing, because he has retained nothing; and is outrageously angry with some of the great Officers of the Crown, because they have refused to waste the whole time of their Administration in "pouring water into a sieve."

He had one while, as I hinted above, obtained a Patent to be Governour of the Bear-garden; though that Patent was invalid and void, by virtue of a previous Statute. Yet, when he thought himself established in that Post, he chose a Bear, a Baboon, and a Wolf, for his Deputy Governors; but, partly growing lazy, and being partly convinced that the Deputies were fitter for government than the Principal, he abandoned all to them; who, conducting themselves by their bestial appetites, played such pranks, that both Governors and Deputies were all removed, and the Bear-garden turned into a THEATRE. Which Conduct of his puts me in mind of one SEMPRONIUS, a Roman Knight, who was made Director of the *Ludi Fescennini*, a rough sort of Bear-garden Drama, in use among the uncultivated Romans, before they were polished by the Grecian arts; into which employment he introduced three wretches as his Deputies, who were the utter ruin of that diversion; for these four persons had not among them all as much judgement as a Ballad-maker. And yet, upon having this paltry office conferred upon him, SEMPRONIUS most vainly and impertinently usurped the name of CENSOR; which coming to alarm the true CENSORS, they enquired into his life upon which, finding him to be the greatest *Fourbe*, and the greatest Impostor, that had appeared among them since the foundation of the City, they turned him with disgrace out of his government,

vernement, dismounted him, and took his horse from him; and, not contented with this, banished him from Rome itself; and, upon his departure, caused the same general lustration to be made, that was used when a certain boding, broad, flat, dusky-faced prodigy had been hooted from out the walls.

P. S. If, upon pursuing this piece of painting, or upon reading the preceding Letters, any honest impartial Gentlemen shall say, as they did upon reading the two former, that I ought not to enter into the private concerns of life; I desire them to consider, that these Letters, though written in prose, were designed to be just and legitimate Satires; and that the private concerns of Life are the just and adequate subjects of Satire, and make the chief beauties of the ancient Satirists, that is, of LUCILIUS, HORACE, PERSIUS, and JUVENAL.

The unmasking of Hypocrites is the great business of Satire, according to that of HORACE,

——— *Est Lucilius ausus*

*Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
Detrabere & pellem, nitidus quâ quisque per ora
Cederet, introrsum turpis*.*

2 Sat. i. 62.

* ‘ In his honest page

‘ When good LUCILIUS lash’d a vicious age,

‘ From conscious villains tore the mask away,

‘ And stripp’d them naked to the glare of day.” FRANCIS.

But

But how is it possible, for the most part, to unmask a Hypocrite, without entering into the private Concerns of Life?

JUVENAL tells us in his First Satire, ver. 86, that “all human actions, all the passions of men, all their desires, and all their inclinations, are the constant subjects of his Satire;”

*Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago Libelli*.*

Now will any one pretend that the private concerns of life are not included in these verses?

I must confess, the celebrated French Satirist has been a little more retentive; but yet they must know very little of him, who are to be told, that he sometimes enters into the private concerns of life; which once more are the just and adequate subjects of Satire. But then the Satirist ought to take care that the censures are always just, and that either the vices satirized are very flagrant, and of pernicious example, or the persons egregious hypocrites.

* “Whatever since that golden age was done,
What human-kind desires, and what they shun;
Rage, passion, pleasures, impotence of will,
Shall this Satirical Collection fill.” DRYDEN.

A Full CONSIDERATION and CONFUTATION
of Sir JOHN EDGAR.

By Sir ANDREW ARTLOVE, Knight and Baronet.

In Three Letters to Mr. APPLEBEE*.

L E T T E R I.

“SIR,

Feb. 13, 1719-20.

THE universal Peace, that is now apparently coming on through all Europe, must of necessity deprive you Gentlemen, who lay out yourselves in furnishing the Town with the transactions of this part of the World, of those materials which have hitherto filled-up your Papers, and we can expect for the future to hear of nothing from beyond-sea but the motions of *Courts* and *Princes* from one place to another, and that a matter of sixteen times over in one week. This consideration has moved me to send you this Letter, in order to persuade you, since the *scene* of bustle and action is now over, to supply that defect, by giving an account from time to time of the several hostile movements, bickerings, and disputes, in the Republick of

* First printed in APPLEBEE'S "Original Weekly Journal," Feb. 13, 20, 27, 1719-20.

Let-

Letters, and such easy disturbances which even Peace and Tranquillity produce.

Since we are to hear no more, yet a while, of battles fought in the field, towns taken, and the various stratagems of war, let it be your care to convey to the Town things, perhaps, not less entertaining; the squabbles and broils of the Press, Writer against Writer, Author against Scribbler, Scribbler against Author, Poet against Poetafter, Poetafter against Poet, the Critick against the Ignorant, and the Ignorant against the Critick, and all the bloodless atchievements of the Goose-quill, whether supported by reason, noise, or scandal, or any other of the laudable stratagems made use of by the Writers of the age, which, how foolish or detrimental soever to those to make use of them, yet never fail of pleasing the Reader; for there is that general fund of ill-nature in mankind, that the follies and defects of others, and the hearing of them, never fails of pleasing; which I take to proceed from that self-consciousness, which is at least in most men of their own and proper defects, that makes them glad to find those of other men make a noise in the world; hoping their own by that means will be kept hid, or at least be not so much taken notice of.

Of all Writers, you Gentlemen who deal in Weekly Papers have infinitely the advantage in two particulars; that is, in abusing all mankind besides, running down the Arts and Sciences, ridiculing of solid Learning, and of writing
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Panegyrics upon yourselves without contradiction; for though the Press be open, and every man may answer what you say, yet what is generally offered in these Weekly Papers cannot be done without rising to a Pamphlet, which is not every body's money, because the matters in them afford not materials enough to make such Pamphlets worth their price.

This consideration alone has made me address myself to you, Mr. APPLEBEE, not only to oppose, but also expose in your Papers, the follies, vices, and ignorance of the Town, and especially of its Authors, of the last of which there is none that more flagrantly requires a check than the AUTHOR of the THEATRES, who is so full of *himself*, and his own imaginary perfections, that he has spent near two-thirds of his Twelve Papers in the most fulsome and impudent praise of himself that ever was published by any Author in the world; and in the rest, he advances such ridiculous falsehoods as are obvious to the meanest capacity. In this present Letter, I shall only take notice of some things in his First and Second, and his Eleventh and Twelfth Papers.

The words I shall take notice of in his First Paper are these: "I shall not make my entry
 " with too loud a voice, but keep within the
 " compass of it, when I prefer the present Bri-
 " tish Stage to any other now in Europe; nor
 " shall I fear in my following Discourses to
 " aver, that it will not be the fault of the per-
 " sons

“sons concerned in it, if it does not arrive at
 “as great perfection as was ever known in
 “Greece or Rome.”

There is nothing so absurd, false, and ignorant, as what here Sir JOHN EDGAR advances, except what may be found in his following Papers; for he says, first, “That the present English Stage is more excellent than all others in being;” whereas in reality it is the most despicable of all others, as will appear from my reflections upon what he says in his Second Paper: but I beg his pardon, he only says, “he would prefer it to all others;” which, I take it, is no proof of its real excellence, since, I believe, nobody else would do so. He tells you farther, that it will not be the fault of the present Managers “if it does not arrive at as great perfection as was ever known in Greece or Rome.”

Oh dear! Sir JOHN, how came you to name such ridiculous words as “the perfection of the Stages of Greece and Rome?” I am afraid you are coming over to the side of the Criticks against whom you have so violently declaimed; but, however, I will judge you by your own words. You allow, nay assert, that the Managers of the present Stage will in time bring it up to the perfection of that of Greece and Rome, as if *that*, by your own confession, were the highest point of glory they could arrive at. How! if the Stages of Greece and Rome were so perfect as you allow them to be (I make use,

use, Sir JOHN, of your own concessions), then must our Stage be the most despicable in nature, because it is the most opposite to them? There regularity, order, and harmony, were perfectly observed; here, under the specious name of Variety, is nothing but a wandering Stage (as BOILEAU calls it), that presents you with objects full of confusion, inconsistencies and oppositions in their very natures, mirth and sadness, joy and grief, promiscuously mingled together; vailains, I hope, scarcely to be found in the greater world, and women too lewd even for the brothels themselves, of which more by and by.

But, Sir JOHN, you have committed a strange blunder, and given a wonderful advantage to the Criticks, in establishing the excellence of the Greek and Roman Stages; since by that means you have likewise established the Rules of ARISTOTLE, which are only to shew us what the practice of the Greek Stage was, and by that means entirely destroy all that you have advanced upon the perfection of our own. But now let us see what you are pleased to offer in your Second Paper:

“ Nations are known, as well as private persons, by their Pleasures*.”

By what Sir JOHN has advanced here, he is guilty of an equal absurdity and ignorance with what he has shewn in his First Paper. If the general inclination of a people, as he asserts, cannot better be understood than by their diver-

* See the THEATRE, N^o II. p. 15.

fions,

sions, I am afraid that Foreigners will entertain a very injurious notion of the People of England, when they find that their public diversion is nothing but confusion; and that they are delighted in Comedies by the lewd intrigues of Prostitutes (who yet in these Comedies are represented as fine Ladies), and where the whole business and plot of the Play are to carry on fornication and adultery; when in their Tragedies they are pleased with rapes, incests, prodigious villainies, and inhuman and shocking murders.

When, I say, Foreigners shall observe this from our diversions; I am afraid, the English Nation will reap no great advantage to their character; and yet such are the Comedies and Tragedies brought on, and encouraged most by the present Managers. Does not Sir JOHN, know, that by our murders upon the Stage, which was never practised upon any other Stage in the world, a learned Foreign Author has made this reflection: “that the English are
“Islanders, and therefore more fierce and cruel
“in their nature than the rest of mankind, as
“is plain from their delight in blood in their
“spectacles?”

But, Mr. APPLIBEE, I am afraid I have transgressed the bounds of a Letter; and must therefore here break off, and defer the greatest part of what I have to say to the next opportunity, where I shall not only finish this point, but shew that the KNIGHT has been far from answering the
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Pamphlet that was written to him, and has only here and there picked out a Sentence which related to his conduct, taking no notice of what attacked his understanding; and it is merry enough to observe, that he seems infinitely less to regard *that*, than the assaults that are made upon his beauty, even “at the entrance into “Old Age;” but more of this hereafter.

Yours, &c.

Sir ANDREW ARTLOVE, Knight.

L E T T E R II.

SIR,

Feb. 20, 1719-20.

IN my last I had room only to give you a beginning of my reflections upon Sir JOHN EDGAR's Writings, in which I shall make some farther progress at this time.

But, before I come to that, to follow the method of some celebrated modern Authors, I shall venture to give you some character of myself; which, if it seem very favourable, you must attribute it to the mode of the age, and the manner of those Authors who have met with success from the Town, by their own characters of themselves.

The Duke of ROCHEFOUCAULT says, “That
“the World will have that opinion of you, that
F f “you

“you first have of yourself.” What this excellent Author says is certainly true in a restrained sense; for it is to correct that bashful diffidence, which is but too common in men of very good parts, and hinders them from exerting their talents, and setting out their abilities to the world, with that handsome assurance which can only effectually recommend them, not only to the public esteem, but to a power of doing all the good their fine and valuable parts are capable of effecting; but this will never hold true in the vain and insolent conceit of their merit and abilities, which some men form to themselves; the *rhodamontado* boasts of Empiricks or Quacks may go down with the mob, but are laughed at by all above the very *Canaille*. Thus, who can chuse but smile to see a certain Knight laying out himself, and all his force, in the excessively ridiculous vanity of a monstrous self-adulation, and arrogating the demolishing of fortifications, the destruction and setting-up of parties, to the prowess of his goose-quill, though, in reality, what he himself writ contributed no more to those events than the very *goose* from whence the quill was taken.

There is a vast difference betwixt vain boasting, and a handsome assurance. The first is always a sign of an egregious coxcomb; the second always ought to be, and is sometimes, the quality of true merit.

Having premised these considerations, I shall now proceed to give my own character. By
 birth

birth and education, I think, I may pretend to be a *Gentleman*; by acquisition, a *Knight* and *Baronet*. Though on my leaving the University, and settling in this wicked Town of London, youth, health, and vigour, led me to a pursuit of all the pleasures that were agreeable to my age, yet they never carried me so far as to make me neglect the improvement of my understanding; and therefore I always took care to mingle with men of the finest sense and learning, such as the Lord ROSCOMMON and some other of his valuable contemporaries, from whom, and from Reason itself, I learned to make Arts and Sciences my study; and I shall always declare for them against their ignorant enemies, since, by a proficiencie in them, Nations have always been distinguished into the names of *polite* or *barbarous*. It has been my constant maxim, that the vogue or taking of any Book or Poem is only a tolerable excuse for reading it, but by no means the measure and determination of its merit, because it is ten times in the wrong, where it happens once to be right; nor, on the other side, am I for declaring against a writing on account of its great success, remembering that of HORACE, 2 Ep. i. 63.

Interdum vulgus rectum videt; est ubi peccat *.

“The People are sometimes in the wrong, and
“sometimes in the right.”

* ‘Sometimes the Crowd a proper judgement makes;
‘But oft they labour under gross mistakes.’ FRANCIS.

For which reason, there are no means of pronouncing justly, and like a man of sense and understanding, but by having recourse to the known and established Rules of each Art; which, being founded in reason and truth, I always make the measure of my censure; and by these I design to examine and condemn those empty trifles published by Sir JOHN EDGAR, and only remarkable for their excessive vanity, self-conceit, and uncommon ignorance; ignorance in which he is so shamelessly confirmed, as to declare himself in public its Advocate, against Arts and Knowledge. To him, therefore, I will proceed in my next.

Yours, &c. ANDREW ARTLOVE.

L E T T E R III.

SIR,

Feb. 27, 1719-20.

HAVING in my last interrupted the course of my Reflections upon Sir JOHN EDGAR by a short character of himself, I now resume the prosecution of my former design.

Sir JOHN is pleased to say, in condemnation of the diversions of the French Stage, “that their Comedies are only low, fantastical Farces, and their Tragedies declamatory, and spoiled by an affectation of regularity*.”

* An unfair quotation from the THEATRE, N^o II. p. 15.

Not

Not to say more on what I have already taken notice of in his second THEATRE, I shall only, *en passant*, observe, that all that he says against the French Stage is either foolish, impertinent to his purpose, or utterly false.

For, first, if we should grant his charge against it, yet it would not at all avail his cause; since he himself owns that the conduct of that Stage gives pleasure to its Audience, and entertains them in a manner most agreeable to themselves. He will say, that is not so agreeable in its own nature, and according to reason, as the conduct of our Stage: but that is the point that is still under dispute, and brings us to the necessary proof of his traducing the French Stage with an infamy that it does not at all deserve; for there can be no plainer evidence that they are not delighted with fantastical Farces, than all the works of MOLIERE, which every man that understands French has in his hands, and from which so many diverting Comedies have been taken by our English Writers, and to whose "*Misanthrope*" we owe even "*The Plain-dealer*" itself, which, I am afraid, will in justice fall short, as a dramatic performance, of its French original. It is true that Mr. WYCHERLEY has adorned it with an infinite deal of Wit, more indeed than ever was seen in any Comedy besides, more than can really, according to nature and propriety of characters, be in any one Comedy whatsoever; which made a great Judge observe,

“ Rather than all Wit, let there be none at all.”

But this is a point too large to be handled in this place. To go on, therefore, with our KNIGHT. He, of all men living, was the most unfit to rail at the Comedies of the French Stage; because, as the Letter to Sir JOHN EDGAR * has made it out, he has borrowed two Plays from two French Poets, which certainly so polite a Writer would not have done, if he had really thought, what he here pretends to assert, that the French Comedies were only low and fantastical Farces. To this objection of the Letter he has made no manner of reply. All therefore that is there remains in full force against him, and therefore need be urged here no farther. The Author of the Letter has plainly confuted all that the Knight has brought against the regularity of the French Tragedy; to which, till he has made a reply, there is no need of adding any thing here; but I cannot pass over a word or two in which he seems to put a mighty force, and that is, *Variety* and *Greatness*. I am afraid that the KNIGHT does not himself well know what he means by *variety* and *greatness*, and would be puzzled to find words to explain his meaning in this particular, without falling into the most monstrous absurdities. If he would only imply by *variety* that *variety* which is agreeable to the nature of the subject, regularity by no means excludes it,

* DENNIS's Letter; see p. 323.

nay, it adds a greatness and dignity to it. In a regular Tragedy, there may be a variety of passions, joy, grief, love, anger, and the like, and variety of incidents; but such incidents as may fall within the time of the rules of the Drama, and the just representation of these passions and incidents, will afford a pleasure more strong and more useful too, than the meer entertainment of the best conversation, which is the highest praise this worthy KNIGHT can bestow upon any dramatic performance. Let him read the “Oedipus” and “Antigone” of SCYPHOCLES; or, if he cannot, let him read “The Orphan” and “Venice Preserved” of OTWAY; and if he find not then a pleasure more transporting than the most agreeable conversation can afford, let him fairly own that he never was fit to have any thing to do with the Stage.

What he says upon the Spanish Stage is both false and foolish; false, because it is not supported by those godly Plays he mentions, which are only acted at certain times, and in certain places. CALDERONI and LOPEZ DE VEGA, and several other volumes in folio of Spanish Plays, will be proof enough of this. Then his accusation of the Spanish Stage is foolish; because, if our Stage be valuable, as he would contend, that of Spain has the very same merits, as MICHAEL CERVANTES might have informed him in his admirable history of DON QUIXOTE, which the Knight somewhere quotes.

I have not room to go through all I have to say upon this head; therefore I must refer it to another opportunity; first, because I am afraid I am here washing the Ethiopian; and, next, because I find the KNIGHT has shewn himself more concerned to vindicate his beauty, and the agreeableness of his face and person, than any thing else; in order to this, he tells you of three pictures that have been drawn of him, viz. by Sir GODFREY KNELLER, Mr. RICHARDSON, and Mr. THORNHILL. Sir GODFREY indeed has been just to his phiz, and left him that very same numerical, dusky countenance, which Nature has bestowed upon him; but Mr. RICHARDSON and Mr. THORNHILL have flattered him more, if possible, than ever he flattered himself, when in one of his Papers he makes himself the beautiful Youth URIALUS; in another, grave CATO; in a third, the wise and excellent SOCRATES; and, in most, a great Statesman and incorruptible Patriot. As for these endowments of his mind, I shall let them alone till another time, and only here conclude with a truer picture of his person than even that which Sir GODFREY KNELLER drew; for, since he has been so zealous in public for his charms, as, like some other old Beaux, he has written Love-letters to himself, I made it my business to get a sight of him, and thus I found him.

His wig, indeed, was now brown, having, as I am assured, changed *that* upon the "Letter to Sir JOHN;" his face, having a beard of a day's growth, was truly dusky; and his eyes, to
 speak

ſpeak with tenderneſs of them, bold, but not beautiful; his ſhoulders, of the Germanmake; his hips and buttocks, of the true Dutch-ſkipper's proportion; his legs, half as large again as thoſe of a Chairman's; and all other parts of a piece with what I have mentioned.

I am not for perſonal reflections; but, when a man with anxiety ſets up for beauty in his old age *, it is highly juſtifiable to endeavour to check that fantaſtical vanity, by ſhewing him a true picture of himſelf; and ſo I take my leave of Sir JOHN EDGAR for ſome time, and am, Yours, &c.

ANDREW ARTLOVE.

* The age of Sir RICHARD STEELE was then only 51. This profuſion of DENNIS's wit is grounded on an humorous advertiſement in the THEATRE. But DENNIS did not underſtand raillery, and therefore all his ſtrained ridicule recoiled on himſelf.

THE MUSE'S GAZETTE *, N° VIII.

April 20, 1720.

From the City of *Whimsy*.

Here died lately the CHEVALIER OF THE BRAZEN COUNTENANCE, by others called the CHEVALIER OF THE GOOSE-QUILL; and, according to custom, here has been a funeral speech made on him by the same CACAFUOGO who spoke that to prove that man was not a rational animal; and this speech was delivered in the same place, that is, in the *Capricioso*, or place of assembly, which belonged to the deceased Chevalier. Having mounted the *rostrum*, he thus began :

*De Mortuis nil nisi bonum.**Pascitur in vivos livor, post fata quiescit.*

Perhaps it may not be expected that I should explain, or let my Audience know, the meaning of this Latin text, or motto; which I have taken, because that was what the Right Worshipful Chevalier, who is the subject of my present discourse, never took the least care of through all his Writings; but GOOSE-QUILL is no more. I use that appella-

* An Essay so called, carried on for some time in "APPLEBEE'S Weekly Journal." In the First Number of this strange performance the Author thinks proper to sneer at the times when "Sir RICHARD STEELE and "COLLEY CIBBER are props of the Stage;" and to question, what right BUTTON'S Coffeehouse has to the decision of wit and good sense, though Sir JOHN EDGAR or CYBERINI be Chairmen,

tion

tion of the deceased, because it is the shortest; but GOOSE QUILL, I say, is no more; I shall not therefore think fit to imitate him, since that would be but a useless flattery; but shall explain, in our own language, what I have delivered to you in Latin. The meaning of the first motto is,

‘ Speak nothing but good of the Dead.’

The sense of the second is,

‘ That Malice and Envy feed only upon the Living, but is very quiet and silent when once a man is dead.’

As plain as the first text is, yet it is not entirely void of obscurity; and may, by being misunderstood, mislead you into errors disagreeable to good sense.

‘ Speak nothing but good of the Dead.’

That which is difficult in this sentence is the meaning of the word *good*: I know it will generally be taken for praise, and then the sense will be plainly thus, “ Always praise the dead;” but that would be too gross and foolish, as well as unjust, to be fairly drawn from the wise adage or proverb of the judicious Ancients; for that would be to level all mankind, and put the highest virtue and the greatest vice, the noblest sincerity and the vilest hypocrisy, upon the same foot. The meaning therefore of *good* can never be this; and this precept only enjoins us to speak truth of the dead, for

truth is always good, and can never be ill. He therefore that speaks the truth of the dead speaks good of the dead, that is, justly of the dead. Thus, to say that MUCKWORM died a poor wretched Miser, and left the world loaded with the sins of extortion and oppression, and expired amid the curses of the widows and orphans of the unhappy people he had undone, is speaking nothing but *truth* of MUCKWORM; and that is nothing but *good* of him. This will be sufficient in part to justify what I shall say of the deceased Chevalier.

The consideration of the second Text will in this make my entire vindication; since from that you may fairly conclude, that the little I shall here offer on the dead Chevalier cannot proceed from either malice or envy; for

Pascitur in vivos livor, post fata quiescit.

Malice and Envy are not for dead carcases and carrion; but they gormondize only on the living.

Having premised these considerations, and dwelt so long upon them that I have made my porch too big for my building; I shall now come directly to the subject of my discourse.

There was a certain Fool, or Madman, in Athens, if old story do not deceive us, who fancied that all the ships in the port of the *Piræum* were his; and accordingly ran about from one to the other, and seemed to give out his orders to every one, as if he were their owner or commander. This being a harmless and inoffensive madness, the people who knew it

it suffered him to enjoy the whimsical notion of power and riches, which was only indeed in his own imagination. After near two thousand years interval, Nature, who is not very frequent in these uncommon and extraordinary productions, did lately give this City of *Whimsy*, in the person of the deceased CHEVALIER, a counterpart of this Athenian Madman; but, like many *Second Editions*, she has improved her fool with many additions. The Athenian Madman had all his thoughts fixed upon the *Piræum*, by a sort of Tarpaulian madness, which never rose above the Sailors; but our Madman had his thoughts raised to much higher stations, and would needs fancy himself not only a great Statesman, a very profound Politician, but also a very formidable Warrior: and though he never went out of this City of *Whimsy**, he did not only fancy himself, but would fain persuade the world, that he demolished fortifications, routed armies, disposed of War and Peace, very much influenced, if not directed, the actions and councils of the powerful; and that nothing, in short, could be done, or indeed was done, but what proceeded from his orders. The occasion of this madness was a sort of a *goose-quill*, which some enemy or another of his, under the pretence of friendship,

* This aukward attempt to be witty, having no foundation in truth, is beyond criticism, and below contempt. The epithet applied here to London may with equal propriety be applied to any city in the world.

furnished him withal, and persuaded him that it was not only made in a planetary hour, but full of a magical force and power, which could not be resisted; and this effect it most certainly had, that for a long time it made him pass in this ingenious City of *Whimsy* for more than half a conjuror, till he made such a noise with the merits of his *goose-quill*, that it forced people to look into the fact, till they found that he was nothing in reality but an empty Madman.

THE STATE OF THE CASE

BETWEEN THE

LORD CHAMBERLAIN of His MAJESTY's Household *,

AND THE

GOVERNOR of the Royal Company of COMEDIANS.

With the OPINIONS of PEMBERTON, NORTHEY,
and PARKER, concerning the THEATRE.

By Sir RICHARD STEELE †.

AS there cannot happen a greater distress, than a necessity of appealing to mankind against hardships imposed by those with whom a man has lived in friendship; the injury which I have received, great as it is, has nothing in it so painful as that it comes from whence it does. When I complained of it in a private Letter to the Chamberlain, he was pleased to send his Secretary to me ‡, with a message, to forbid me writing, speaking, corresponding, or applying to him in any manner whatever. Since he has been pleased to send

* The Duke of NEWCASTLE held that office from April 17, 1717, to April 1, 1724.

† First published March 29, 1720.

‡ See THEATRE, N^o VIII. p. 63.

an English Gentleman a banishment from his person and councils, in a style thus Royal, I doubt not but the Reader will justify me in the method I take to explain this matter to the Town. I am sure there is no man living more obsequious to his Friends than I am; and I hope to show my Enemies, all my life, that I certainly have courage enough to defend myself against wrongs, as well as to forgive them, according as the circumstances require one or the other, in the respective characters of a Christian and an honest man.

My Lord Chamberlain has, contrary to law and justice, dispossessed me of my Freehold, in a manner as injurious to the King his Master, as to me his Fellow-subject. But, though I had a right to dispute even a legal disturbance of me in my Partners, Tenants, and Servants, as the whole Company of Actors (in their different qualities) are to me in the eye of the Law; I say, though I might very justly have insisted upon privilege of Parliament in the case; I told my Lord, in my Letter to him, “that I
 “ had not confidence to urge, even against op-
 “ pression from him, a right which my Electors
 “ gave me, upon no other motive but their know-
 “ ledge of the kind opinion he had of me at the
 “ time when they chose me.” No: I could not plead what I owed to his favour against his change of mind, but have waited, as I promised, till he had cancelled his good offices by injuries, which I am to shew he has already done.

done. In order to this, I must recite my Patent.

“ GEORGE, by the grace of God, of Great-
 “ Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender
 “ of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these pre-
 “ sents shall come, greeting. We having in-
 “ formed Ourselves, since Our accession to Our
 “ Crown, of the state of Our THEATRE; and
 “ finding, to Our sorrow, that, through the
 “ neglect and ill-management thereof, the true
 “ and only end of its institution is greatly per-
 “ verted; and, instead of exhibiting such re-
 “ presentations of human-life as may tend to
 “ the encouragement and honour of Religion
 “ and Virtue, and discountenancing Vice, the
 “ English STAGE hath been the complaint of
 “ the sober, intelligent, and religious part of
 “ our people; and, by indecent and immodest
 “ expressions, by prophane allusion to Holy
 “ Scripture, by abusive and scurrilous repre-
 “ sentations of the Clergy, and by the success
 “ and applause bestowed on libertine characters,
 “ it hath given great and insufferable scandal to
 “ Religion and good-manners; and, in the re-
 “ presentations of civil government, care has
 “ not been taken to create in the minds of Our
 “ good subjects just and dutiful ideas of the
 “ power and authority of magistrates, as well
 “ as to preserve a due sense of the rights of Our
 “ people; and, through many other abuses,
 “ that, which under a wise direction and due
 “ regulation would be useful and honourable,

“ has proved, and, if not reformed, will conti-
 “ nue, a reproach to Government, and dishonour
 “ to Religion; and it being our pious resolu-
 “ tion, which with the blessing of Almighty
 “ God We will steadily pursue through the
 “ whole course of Our reign, not only by Our
 “ own example, but by all other means possi-
 “ ble, to promote the honour of Religion and
 “ Virtue; and, on every occasion, to encourage
 “ good literature, and to endeavour the esta-
 “ blishment of good-manners and discipline,
 “ among all Our loving subjects, in all stations
 “ and ranks of men whatsoever, these being, in
 “ Our opinion, the proper means to render Our
 “ kingdoms happy and flourishing: We have
 “ seriously resolved on the premises; and, being
 “ well satisfied of the ability and good disposi-
 “ tion of our trusty and well-beloved RICHARD
 “ STEELE, Esq; for the promoting these Our
 “ royal purposes, not only from his public ser-
 “ vices to Religion and Virtue, but his steady
 “ adherence to the true interest of his country;
 “ Know ye, That We, out of Our special grace,
 “ certain knowledge, and meer motion, and in
 “ consideration of the good and faithful services
 “ which the said RICHARD STEELE hath done
 “ us, and doth intend to do for the future, have
 “ given and granted, and by these presents, for
 “ Us and Our heirs and successors, do give and
 “ grant, unto him the said RICHARD STEELE,
 “ his executors, administrators, and assigns, for
 “ and during the term of his natural life, and
 “ for

“ for and during the full end and term of three
 “ years, to be computed next and immediately
 “ after the decease of him the said RICHARD
 “ STEELE, full power, licence, and authority,
 “ to gather together, form, entertain, govern,
 “ privilege, and keep, a company of Come-
 “ dians for our service, to exercise and act Tra-
 “ gedies, Plays, Operas, and other perform-
 “ ances of the stage, within the house in DRU-
 “ RY-LANE, wherein the same are now exer-
 “ cised by virtue of a licence granted by Us to
 “ him the said RICHARD STEELE, ROBERT
 “ WILKS, COLLEY CIBBER, THOMAS DOGGET,
 “ and BARTON BOOTH, or within any other
 “ house built or to be built, where he or they
 “ can best be fitted for the purpose, within
 “ Our cities of LONDON and WESTMINSTER,
 “ or the suburbs thereof; such house or houses
 “ so to be built (if occasion shall require) to be
 “ assigned and allotted out, by the Surveyor of
 “ Our works, for a THEATRE or *Play-house*,
 “ with necessary tiring and retiring rooms, and
 “ other places convenient, of such extent and
 “ dimension as the said RICHARD STEELE, his
 “ executors, administrators, or assigns, shall
 “ think fitting; wherein Tragedies, Comedies,
 “ Plays, Operas, Musick, Scenes, and all other
 “ entertainments of the stage whatsoever, may
 “ be shewed and presented. Which said com-
 “ pany shall be Our servants, and be stiled, THE
 “ ROYAL COMPANY OF COMEDIANS; and shall
 “ consist of such numbers as the said RICHARD

“ STEELE, his executors, administrators, or as-
 “ signs, shall, from time to time, think meet.
 “ And we do hereby, for Us, Our heirs and
 “ successors, grant unto the said RICHARD
 “ STEELE, his executors, administrators, or as-
 “ signs, full power, licence, and authority, to
 “ permit such persons, at and during the plea-
 “ sure of the said RICHARD STEELE, his execu-
 “ tors, administrators, or assigns, from time to
 “ time, to act plays and entertainments of the
 “ stage, of all sorts, peaceably and quietly, with-
 “ out the impeachment or impediment of any
 “ person or persons whatsoever, for the honest
 “ recreation of such as shall desire to see the
 “ same, nevertheless under the regulations here-
 “ in after mentioned, and such other as the said
 “ RICHARD STEELE, from time to time, in his
 “ discretion, shall find reasonable and necessary
 “ for Our service. And We do, for Ourselves,
 “ Our heirs and successors, further grant to him
 “ the said RICHARD STEELE, his executors, ad-
 “ ministrators, and assigns, as aforesaid, that it
 “ shall and may be lawful to and for the said
 “ RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administra-
 “ tors, and assigns, to take and receive, of such
 “ Our subjects as shall resort to see or hear any
 “ such plays, scenes, and entertainments what-
 “ soever, such sum or sums of money as either
 “ have accustomedly been given and taken in
 “ the like kind, or shall be thought reasonable
 “ by him or them, in regard of the great ex-
 “ pences of scenes, musick, and such new deco-
 “ rations

“ rations as have not been formerly used. And,
 “ further, for Us, Our heirs and successors, We
 “ do hereby give and grant unto the said RI-
 “ CHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators,
 “ and assigns, full power to make such allow-
 “ ances, out of that which he shall so receive by
 “ the acting of plays and entertainments of the
 “ stage as aforesaid, to the actors and other per-
 “ sons employed in acting, representing, or in
 “ any quality whatsoever about the said Thea-
 “ tre, as he or they shall think fit; and that the
 “ said company shall be under the sole govern-
 “ ment and authority of the said RICHARD
 “ STEELE, his executors, administrators, or as-
 “ signs; and all scandalous and mutinous per-
 “ sons shall, from time to time, by him and
 “ them be ejected and disabled from playing in
 “ the said Theatre. And, for the better attain-
 “ ing Our royal purposes in this behalf, We
 “ have thought fit hereby to declare, that hence-
 “ forth no representations be admitted on the
 “ Stage, by virtue or under colour of these
 “ Our letters patent, whereby the Christian Re-
 “ ligion in general, or the Church of England,
 “ may in any manner suffer reproach; strictly
 “ inhibiting every degree of abuse or misrepre-
 “ sentation of sacred characters, tending to ex-
 “ pose Religion itself, and to bring it into con-
 “ tempt; and that no such character be other-
 “ wise introduced, or placed in other light,
 “ than such as may enhance the just esteem of
 “ those who truly answer the end of their sacred
 “ function. We further enjoin the strictest

“ regard to such representations as any way
 “ concern civil policy, or the constitution of
 “ Our government, that these may contribute
 “ to the support of Our sacred authority, and
 “ the preservation of order and good govern-
 “ ment. And it being Our royal desire, that,
 “ for the future, Our Theatre may be instru-
 “ mental to the promotion of Virtue, and in-
 “ structive to Human Life, We do hereby com-
 “ mand and enjoin, that no new Play, or any
 “ old or revived Play, be acted under the au-
 “ thority hereby granted, containing any pas-
 “ sages or expressions offensive to piety and
 “ good-manners, until the same be corrected
 “ and purged by the said Governor from all
 “ such offensive and scandalous passages and ex-
 “ pressions. And these Our letters patent, or
 “ the inrolment thereof, shall be in all things
 “ good and effectual in the law, according to
 “ the true intent and meaning of the same, and
 “ any thing in these presents contained, or any
 “ law, statute, act, ordinance, proclamation,
 “ provision, or restriction, or any other matter,
 “ cause, or thing whatsoever, to the contrary, in
 “ anywise notwithstanding. In witness whereof,
 “ We have caused these Our letters to be made
 “ Patent. Witness Ourselves at Westminster, the
 “ nineteenth of January, in the first year of
 “ Our reign* .

“ By writ of Privy Seal.

Cocks.”

* The Patent had before been printed by STEELE, in the TOWN-TALK, N^o II. with some observations on its probable effects.

When

When Mr. STEELE was dispatched by the then Solicitor General Mr. LECHMERE, the learned Gentleman used this expression: “ Sir, “ the King has here given you a Freehold ; “ and if from it you can prove you receive fix “ hundred pounds a year, you are qualified to “ be Knight of any Shire in England.”

When this Patent was passing, the Patentee was informed, that this grant would be an infringement upon those under which Mr. RICH claimed. Upon which, in justice to his Majesty, and abhorrence of encroaching upon other men, the Patentee went to the Secretary’s office, and obtained the reference, before addressed “ to the Attorney *or* Solicitor General,” should be directed “ to the Attorney *and* Solicitor- “ General.” In this he acted with his known zeal for his Majesty’s honour and service, which would not admit him to desire any favour to the injury of any other of his subjects. The terms of this Patent were settled by the joint consent of Sir EDWARD NORTHEY and Mr. LECHMERE, names illustrious in the Law, and no way inclined or capable of being awed into a concurrence from deference to each other’s opinion. They agreed, the King could grant this ; and I shall take care to assert my right to what he has granted. The Patentee carried his self-denial still further ; and though he could have had this Patent, as well as Sir WILLIAM DAVENANT and Mr. KILLIGREW had before him, to “ himself and his heirs for ever,” he asked it

but for his life, and three years after his death; which three years he thought necessary to be in his executors, to make an end of any account between his Family and the Theatre upon his death. The Patent itself, as to the powers in it, is exactly the same with those others formerly granted, and no way opposes or impairs any authority of a Chamberlain, any more than those did; neither is there any the least pretension, or colour of pretension, for disputing this authority, without those who dispute it will assert that King GEORGE is not, to all intents and purposes, as much King of England as King CHARLES the Second. But however other men, for their own humour or vanity, attempt to diminish, frustrate, or invade this act of their Master, I will, to their teeth, defend it; and make them understand, that there are men who are not to be teized, vexed, worried, calumniated, or brow-beaten out of the laws of England.

But some have been pleased to say, in common conversation, that Actors, as such, are not within the rules of the rest of the world; as if they were among men, like the *Feræ naturâ* among animals; and that it is against our Laws to tolerate the Profession in itself. If this were so, they would (except within the verge of the Court) be no more under a legal dispensation of constitution, when directed by the Lord Chamberlain, than they would when governed by any other man; and, by the way,
he

he has not taken this power to destroy it as unwarrantable, but to exercise it, be it what it will, himself. This matter will appear as it ought to do, by the opinions of PEMBERTON, NORTHEY, and PARKER, who have been consulted by the successors of DAVENANT and KILLIGREW. I shall give them in the order I have named them, and as the questions were stated to those great men.

Quere I. “ Whether the grant of a power to
 “ *A. B.* his heirs and assigns, by the Letters
 “ Patents, to erect a Theatre, and to act Plays,
 “ &c. be a good grant in fee, assignable, or shall
 “ determine with King CHARLES the Second’s
 “ death ?”

Quere. “ About the words, *to be servants to*
 “ *the King and Queen*, and *to be servants to the*
 “ *Duke of York* ?”

1. “ I do not see, that to act Plays, or Inter-
 “ ludes, or Operas, is unlawful in itself, either
 “ by the Common Law, or by any Statute. It
 “ is true, to wander about from country to
 “ country, as Stage-players, is forbid by 39
 “ Eliz. c. 4. but not the acting of Plays, &c.
 “ which may be used (for aught I see) as an
 “ innocent recreation.”

2. “ I think the King’s Patent may be avail-
 “ able, to give the better countenance to the
 “ entertainments; and so may be transferred
 “ from Ancestor to Heir, or assigned for that
 “ purpose.

3. “ For

3. "For that purpose, to give a countenance
 "or reputation to these Play-houses, I think it
 "may be effectual after the death of King
 "CHARLES II.; and that operation, I think,
 "did not die."

Quere II. "Whether the King's agreement,
 "that no Company shall be permitted in Lon-
 "don, Westminster, or the Suburbs, shall
 "hinder all others from acting within that cir-
 "cuit, unless authorized under the Letters
 "Patents?"

A. "Taking this to be an employment per-
 "mitted or not prohibited by Law (as I take
 "this to be), I do not think the King's con-
 "cession in his Letters Patents, that no one
 "shall be permitted to act Stage-plays, or In-
 "terludes, &c. in London, or Westminster,
 "will be effectual to hinder others from acting
 "there. However, I think, such a prohibition
 "will last no longer than the King who grants
 "it lives."

Quere III. "Whether the Lord Chamber-
 "lain, as such, or any other, except the King,
 "can grant a Licence to Actors, in regard it is
 "not (as supposed) a lawful calling, but only
 "for the King's pleasure? The Lord Cham-
 "berlain has lately sworn several Actors to be
 "the King's Servants, to save them from being
 "molested."

A. "If the acting of Plays were unlawful in
 "its nature, and *malum in se* (which I do not take
 "it to be), I do not see how the Lord Cham-
 "berlain,

berlain, or any other Officer, or the King himself, could give a licence to any to act Plays, &c. But taking the employment not to be unlawful in itself, I conceive the Lord Chamberlain, or Master of the Revels (with the King's allowance) may authorize any persons to act, or forbid and hinder them from acting, in any of the King's Houses or Palaces. And their grants to any to act in other places may be used to countenance or give a popular reputation to the Comedies or Plays that they act. But I know of no other effect that they can have. And I conceive they cannot prohibit any to act in any place out of the King's Palaces, so long as they behave themselves modestly and decently.

“ F. PEMBERTON.”

Sir EDWARD NORTHEY is consulted, and delivers his opinion as follows :

“ Whether the Grants by Letters Patents from King CHARLES II. to Sir WILLIAM DAVENANT, his heirs and assigns, to purchase lands, and to build a Theatre thereon to act Plays, be not a good grant in fee, and assignable? or whether the same be determinable upon the Death of King CHARLES II. they having laid out to the value of 8000l. in purchasing land, and building Theatres, and other necessary buildings and decorations, for the more commodious Representations of Operas

“ Operas and other Plays, by virtue of the
“ Letters Patents ?”

A. “ I am of opinion, the Letters Patents were
“ a good licence to Sir WILLIAM DAVENANT,
“ his heirs and assigns, to build a Theatre, and
“ therein to cause Plays to be acted; and if he,
“ his heirs or assigns, do not abuse such licence,
“ they may continue the Plays, notwithstanding
“ the death of King CHARLES II.

EDWARD NORTHEY, Feb. 24, 1702-3.”

I shall conclude my authorities by the opinion of Sir THOMAS PARKER, now Lord High Chancellor of Great-Britain.

Quere. “ Whether the grant by Letters
“ Patents from King CHARLES II. to Sir WIL-
“ LIAM DAVENANT, his heirs and assigns, to
“ purchase lands, and to build a Theatre
“ thereon to act Plays, &c. and a like Grant to
“ THOMAS KILLIGREW, Esq. to build another
“ Theatre, &c. be not good grants in fee, and
“ assignable? or whether the same be not de-
“ terminable upon the death of King CHARLES
“ II.; they having laid out to the value of
“ 8000l. in purchasing lands, and building two
“ Theatres, and other necessary buildings,
“ scenes, and decorations, for the more com-
“ modious representation of Operas, Plays, and
“ Entertainments of the Stage, under the au-
“ thority of the said Patents ?”

Answe. “ The Letters Patents are both ex-
“ press, that the King grants for him, his heirs
“ and

“ and successors; and, I think, the assigns of
 “ Sir WILLIAM DAVENANT and Mr. KILLI-
 “ GREW, and their heirs, may still continue
 “ their Plays and Theatrical Entertainments in
 “ the House built under the authority of those
 “ Letters Patents, as well as Sir WILLIAM
 “ DAVENANT and Mr. KILLIGREW themselves
 “ could have done if they were now alive, or
 “ as they could do in the life-time of King
 “ CHARLES II. who made those grants.

“ THO. PARKER, Nov. 10, 1705.”

Hence it appears, that the authority of licensing Players in this manner is just, and well supported from the reason of the thing itself; and this authority is given to Mr. STEELE in no other manner than it was before given, and differs only in circumstances that plead for STEELE. The Grant to STEELE for life, and three Years after, is given upon stronger motives than those alledged for granting to DAVENANT and KILLIGREW for ever. King CHARLES's grants were acts of meer favour and motion; that of King GEORGE, for worthy services expressly recited, and has a merit above them (I mean only as to the force of the Patents, not the character of the Patentees), as much as voluntary acts are more valid in law than those given for valuable considerations. This is the Title by which Sir RICHARD STEELE is Governour of the Royal Company of
 Co-

Comedians. We are now to consider the manner of his being deprived of that Right.

The Reader will observe, that my Patent describes very largely the uses and purposes of it, as well as the limitations and restrictions under which it ought to be enjoyed; and there is no power which can make it void, or ought to frustrate it, except the Patentee, or his assigns, shall be proved to transgress, or go beyond the limits prescribed; in such case, there is a plain method of bringing the offenders before Courts of Justice; and the Patentee, or those claiming under him, are there to stand upon the defensive. But I have been deprived of my property by violence, under the conduct of craft; but that violence has been as open, and that craft as shallow and as little disguised, as follows. Without any cause assigned, or preface declaring by what authority, a noble Lord sends a message, directed to Sir RICHARD STEELE, Mr. WILKS, and Mr. BOOTH, to dismiss Mr. CIBBER, who for some time submitted to a disability of appearing on the Stage during the pleasure of one that had nothing to do with it. When this lawless will and pleasure was changed, a very frank declaration was made, that all the mortification put upon Mr. CIBBER was intended only as a remote beginning of evils, which were to affect the Patentee; with some broad intimations, that the force of the Patent itself should very soon be made ineffectual by a Sign Manual. Under an amaze-
ment

ment at this audacious proceeding against the validity of a Patent from the King on the Throne, and taking myself, as a Parliamentary Commissioner, to be of quality to write to Ministers of State, especially when it was only to implore their assistance and protection, in order to avert this intended outrage upon the King's authority, and the Subjects' property; I wrote to two great Ministers to that purpose. But so great is the rage conceived against me, that the consideration that the dignity of the King is offended in his grant could not protect me from being ruined against his Laws, or procure the least notice of my Remonstrance. However, on Friday, Jan. 22, I presented, in the presence of my Lord Chamberlain, the following petition to the King.

“ To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY :

“ The Humble Petition of Sir RICHARD STEELE,
“ Sheweth,

“ That Your Petitioner is possessed, by Letters Patents, of the sole government and authority of keeping a Company of Comedians, under the Title of THE ROYAL COMPANY of COMEDIANS.

“ That the Lord Chamberlain of Your Majesty's Household has, by a written order, intimidated a principal Comedian from acting; and, by promises, does encourage other Actors to disturb your Petitioner's said government,

“vernment, to the great prejudice of his fortune and property.

“That your Petitioner is further threatened with an extraordinary use of your Majesty's power, to the disappointment and frustrating his said authority.

“That your Petitioner humbly conceives, that he has fully answered all the designs of your Majesty's Grant, to the great improvement of the Theatre.

“Your Petitioner therefore most humbly prays he may not be any way molested but by due course of Law.

“And your Petitioner shall ever pray, &c.”

It was my ill fate to find no other effect of this Petition, but the following order the next day :

“Whereas, by our Royal Licence *,” &c.

I must here acknowledge, that the sense of the Chamberlain's former patronage made me write him a Letter in the THEATRE, much below the justice of my cause, and that Manhood which Right and Equity ought to have supported me in, against Injury and Oppression.

In the allegory of a Bee-hive and its Owner, I have represented myself and Company destroyed by the precipitancy which sometimes attends the most generous natures. But since this was received as it was, I shall study no more types, shadows, or similies, to inform this Lord

* See this at length, with STEELE'S Letter to the LORD CHAMBERLAIN, in THEATRE, N^o VIII. p. 6b.

of, and prove to him the wrong he has done me; but will seek redress by application to the King in Council, or by due course of Law. The Reader will observe, that the Order mentions Licences, Powers, and Authorities, to the persons named therein, and then obliquely aims at the Patentee, in the words, "or to any of them severally;" but not a word of Grant or Patent, which was vested only in STEELE, and would not have agreed well with the just and gracious words, "as much as in us lies, and as by Law we may."

Under this thin disguise, and by mis-leading the King by the words of reserve against any unlawful molestation to be done me, the Lord Chamberlain took upon him, immediately after, to send the following order to the Managers of the Play-house, with which they were intimidated to forbear to act any longer under my jurisdiction, or pay me any money for the future, in contempt of our former contracts and agreements.

"Whereas his Majesty has thought fit*," &c.

The loss I have hereby sustained, I value as follows:

	£. s. d.
Six hundred a year, for life, s } moderately valued at —	6000 0 0
The three years after my life,	1800 0 0
My share in the scenes, stock, &c.	1000 0 0
The profit of acting my own Plays } already written, or those I may write,	1000 0 0
	£. 9800 0 0

* See the THEATRE, N^o VIII. p. 66.

The thing itself is but a shop to work in, and received nothing from the Crown. And if a man shall hazard his All for the Publick, and expect no more but what his own skill and labour, in conjunction with his assigns, shall bring him, such a one should be the last man that ought to suffer molestation. If I had been Laceman, Sadler, or Shoe-maker, to the Crown by Patent, I could not have been dispossessed but by due course of Law, and according to the prices I should have set upon my goods. And shall the noble ends and purposes, set forth in this Charter, be overlooked and suppressed in a summary way, and no redress?

But it is apparent the King is grossly and shamelessly injured, against his gracious precaution in the order by Sign-Manual. The CHAMBERLAIN has done the same favour to other Gentlemen, with regard to Parliament, which he has for me; and they have acted their own way as well as I: and he has not yet entered upon their estates.

I never did one act to provoke this attempt; nor does the CHAMBERLAIN pretend to assign any direct reason of forfeiture, but openly and wittingly declares, "he will ruin STEELE;" which is, in a man in his circumstances against one in mine, as great as the humour of MALAGENE in the Comedy, who valued himself upon his activity for tripping up cripples. All this is done against a man, to whom Whig, Tory, Roman-Catholick, Dissenter, Native, and Foreigner,

reigner, owe zeal and good-will for good offices endeavoured towards every one of them in their Civil Rights; and their kind wishes to him are but a just return. But what ought to weigh most with his Lordship, the CHAMBERLAIN, is my zeal for his MASTER; of which I shall at present say no more, than that his Lordship, and many others, may perhaps have done more for the House of Hanover than I have; BUT I AM THE ONLY MAN IN HIS MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS WHO DID ALL HE COULD.

THE STATE OF THE CASE

BETWEEN

The LORD CHAMBERLAIN of His MAJESTY'S
Houſhold, and Sir RICHARD STEELE, as
repreſented by that KNIGHT,

RE-STAT'ED,

In Vindication of King GEORGE, and the Moſt
Noble the Duke of NEWCASTLE.

With a True Copy of King CHARLES'S Patent,
to Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT, for
ereſting a PLAY-HOUSE*, &c.

Si ingratum dixeris, omnia dixeris.

THE following Pages are dedicated to the defence and vindication of a moſt illuſtrious NOBLEMAN, from the falſe inſinuations, ingrateful and open calumnies, and higheſt indignities, that ever were offered to a perſon of his great quality, diſtinguiſhed honour, and generoſity, by a Criminal, wholly and ſolely on account of a uſual and common puniſhment inflicted on him, with the higheſt juſtice, and in the moſt adequate manner that his crime de-

* Firſt printed in 1720, for J. APPLEBEE, Price 6d.
ſerved.

served. But to shew that I have no interest in the matter, nor any motive to engage me in the cause I have undertaken, but my love to impartial justice, and hatred of ingratitude; the Reader must know, that I have not the honour to have the least acquaintance with his Grace, nor am I at all known to him.

SIR RICHARD STEELE having lately made a great deal of bustle in the world, and raised many noisy clamours against the treatment he has met with from my LORD CHAMBERLAIN, as unprecedented, and absolutely illegal; I hope it will not be thought unreasonable for a lover of truth and justice, to appear in defence of that illustrious PEER, who has been affronted with so many, so open, so insolent and groundless insults from a man, who, by his own confession, had received uncommon and repeated favours from him.

To avoid the scandal of a monstrous ingratitude, the KNIGHT would fain persuade the world, that the injuries and injustice he has found from this Noble Lord, have exceeded the favours he formerly owed to him; to bring this about, he has recourse to downright falsehood, misrepresenting the punishment of an offence, as an illegal invasion of his right and property, and such an invasion as has no precedent, or ever was heard of till the present transaction; all which is downright calumny, and directly contrary to the truth and matter of

fact, which I do not at all question to make out in the following pages; where I shall make it evident, that my LORD CHAMBERLAIN has taken no new method with Sir RICHARD STEELE, nor done any thing in the punishment of the contumacy of that KNIGHT and his dependants, which is not perfectly agreeable to the constant practice of all the LORD CHAMBERLAINS, since Players were servants to the Crown, upon the like occasions; that all the clamour Sir RICHARD makes of destroying, or taking away his property, that is, his Patent, by a Sign-Manual, and the like, is utterly false and groundless, not to say whimsically foolish.

But because in the following discourse it is absolutely necessary that the Reader should know the Patent granted to Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT, as he has seen that granted to Sir RICHARD STEELE, I am obliged to print it just as it is in this place, that the Reader may see the false arguments Sir RICHARD has drawn from it, to the advantage of himself and his Patent, and which he would scarcely have ventured to have done, could he have imagined that Sir WILLIAM'S Patent could have been produced to convince him of his foul dealing: As for example, that the motives to King GEORGE'S granting his Patent are infinitely stronger than those which prevailed with King CHARLES to grant a like Patent to Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT.

The

The motives, he tells you, to this grant, were his proper merits and worthy services; but that King CHARLES was acted by his particular love and mere motion: whereas it is fully and plainly expressed in Sir WILLIAM'S Patent, as the Reader will see on its perusal, that it was granted in consideration of former services done, and likewise in consideration of Sir WILLIAM'S surrendering a former Patent, which he received from King CHARLES I. and which is recited in the following Patent; so that the contrary of what Sir RICHARD asserts, is evidently true.

15 January, 14 Car. II. 1662.

A Copy of the Letters Patent then granted by King Charles II. under the Great Seal of England, to Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT, Knt. his Heirs and Assigns, for erecting a New Theatre, and establishing of a Company of Actors in any place within London or Westminster, or the Suburbs of the same; and that no other but this Company, and one other Company by virtue of a like Patent, to THOMAS KILLIGREW, Esq; should be permitted within the said Liberties.

“ CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of
 “ God, King of England, Scotland, France,
 “ and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

H h 4

“ T

“ To all to whom all these Presents shall come,
 “ Greeting.

“ WHEREAS Our Royal Father, of glorious
 “ memory, by his Letters Patents under his
 “ Great Seal of England, bearing date at West-
 “ minster, the 26th day of March, in the 14th
 “ year of his reign, did give and grant unto
 “ Sir WILLIAM D’AVENANT (by the name of
 “ WILLIAM D’AVENANT, Gent.), his Heirs,
 “ Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, full
 “ power, licence, and authority, that he, they,
 “ and every of them, by him and themselves,
 “ and by all and every such person and persons
 “ as he or they should depute or appoint, and
 “ his and their labourers, servants, and work-
 “ man, should and might, lawfully, quietly,
 “ and peaceably, frame, erect, new-build, and
 “ set-up, upon a parcel of ground lying near
 “ unto or behind the Three Kings’ Ordinary *
 “ in Fleet-street, in the parishes of St. Dun-
 “ stan’s in the West, London, or in St. Bride’s,
 “ London, or in either of them, or in any
 “ other ground in or about that place, or in the
 “ whole street aforesaid, then allotted to him
 “ for that use; or in any other place that was,
 “ or then after should be, assigned or allotted
 “ out to the said Sir WILLIAM D’AVENANT,

* The spot here mentioned was a large vacant piece of ground, since used as a timber yard, and now employed by Messrs Faulkner and Radley in the Manufactory of raisin-wine. The sign of the Three Kings still remains in the front of the street.

“ by

“ by THOMAS Earl of ARUNDEL and SURREY,
 “ then Earl Marshal of England, or any other
 “ Commiffioner for building, for the time be-
 “ ing in that behalf, a Theatre or Play-houfe,
 “ with neceffary tiring and retiring rooms, and
 “ other places convenient, containing in the
 “ whole forty yards fquare at the moft, where-
 “ in Plays, Mufical Entertainments, Scenes, or
 “ other the like Prefentments, might be pre-
 “ fented: And our faid Royal Father did grant
 “ unto the faid Sir WILLIAM D’AVENANT,
 “ his Heirs, Executors, and Adminiftrators and
 “ Affigns, that it fhould and might be lawful
 “ to and for him the faid Sir WILLIAM
 “ D’AVENANT, his Heirs, Executors, Admi-
 “ niftrators, and Affigns, from time to time,
 “ to gather together, entertain, govern, privi-
 “ lege, and keep, fuch and fo many Players and
 “ perfons to exercife Actions, Mufical Prefent-
 “ ments, Scenes, Dancing, and the like, as he
 “ the faid Sir WILLIAM D’AVENANT, his
 “ Heirs, Executors, Adminiftrators, or Affigns,
 “ fhould think fit and approve for the faid
 “ Houfe; and fuch perfons to permit and con-
 “ tinue at and during the pleafure of the faid
 “ Sir WILLIAM D’AVENANT, his Heirs, Exe-
 “ cutors, Adminiftrators or Affigns, from time
 “ to time, to act Plays in fuch Houfe fo to be
 “ by him or them erected, and exercife Mufick,
 “ Mufical Prefentments, Scenes, Dancing, or
 “ other the like, at the fame or other houfes or
 “ times, or after Plays are ended, peaceably
 “ and

“ and quietly, without the impeachment or
 “ impediment of any person or persons what-
 “ soever, for the honest recreation of such as
 “ should desire to see the same; and that it
 “ should and might be lawful to and for the
 “ said Sir WILLIAM D’AVENANT, his Heirs,
 “ Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, to
 “ take and receive of such as should resort to see
 “ or hear any such Plays, Scenes, and Enter-
 “ tainments whatsoever, such sum or sums of
 “ money as were, or then after from time to
 “ time should be, accustomed to be given or
 “ taken in other Play-houses and places, for
 “ the like Plays, Scenes, Presentments, and
 “ Entertainments, as in and by the said Let-
 “ ters Patents, relation being thereunto had,
 “ more at large may appear :

“ AND whereas We did, by our Letters
 “ Patents under the Great Seal of England,
 “ bearing date the 16th day of May, in the
 “ 13th year of our reign, exemplify the said
 “ recited Letters Patents granted by Our Royal
 “ Father, as in and by the same, relation being
 “ thereunto had, at large may appear :

“ AND whereas the said Sir WILLIAM D’AVE-
 “ NANT hath surrendered our said Letters
 “ Patents of exemplification, and also the said
 “ recited Letters Patents granted by our Royal
 “ Father, into our Court of Chancery, to be
 “ cancelled; which surrender We have ac-
 “ cepted, and do accept by these Presents :

“ KNOW YE that We, of Our especial grace,
 “ certain knowledge, and meer motion, and
 “ upon the humble Petition of the said Sir
 “ WILLIAM D’AVENANT, and in consideration
 “ of the good and faithful service which he the
 “ said Sir WILLIAM D’AVENANT hath done
 “ unto us, and doth intend to do for the fu-
 “ ture; and, in consideration of the said sur-
 “ render, have given and granted, and, by these
 “ Presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors,
 “ do give and grant unto the said Sir WILLIAM
 “ D’AVENANT, his Heirs, Executors, Admi-
 “ nistrators, and Assigns, full power, licence,
 “ and authority, that he, they, and every one
 “ of them, by him and themselves, and by all
 “ and every such person and persons as he or
 “ they should depute or appoint, and his or
 “ their labourers, servants, and workmen, shall
 “ and may lawfully, peaceably, and quietly,
 “ frame, erect, new-build, and set-up, in any
 “ place within our cities of London and West-
 “ minster, or the suburbs thereof, where he or
 “ they shall find best accommodation for that
 “ purpose, to be assigned and allotted out by
 “ the surveyor of our works, one Theatre or
 “ Play-house, with necessary tiring and retiring
 “ rooms and other places convenient, of such
 “ extent and dimension as the said Sir WILLIAM
 “ D’AVENANT, his Heirs and Assigns, shall
 “ think fitting; wherein Tragedies, Comedies,
 “ Plays, Operas, Musick, Scenes, and all other
 “ Entertainments of the Stage whatsoever, may
 “ be shewed and presented.

“ AND

“ AND We do hereby, for Us, Our Heirs
 “ and Successors. grant unto the said Sir WIL-
 “ LIAM D’AVENANT, his Heirs and Assigns,
 “ full power, licence, and authority, from time
 “ to time, to gather together, entertain, go-
 “ vern, privilege, and keep, such and so many
 “ Players and persons, to exercise and act Tra-
 “ gedies, Comedies, Plays, Operas, and other
 “ Performances of the Stage, within the house
 “ to be built as aforesaid, or within the house
 “ in Lincoln’s-Inn-Fields wherein the said Sir
 “ WILLIAM D’AVENANT doth now exercise
 “ the premises, or within any other house where
 “ he or they can best be fitted for that purpose,
 “ within our cities of London and Westminster,
 “ or the suburbs thereof; which said Company
 “ shall be the servants of our dearly beloved
 “ brother JAMES Duke of York, and shall con-
 “ sist of such number as the said Sir WILLIAM
 “ D’AVENANT, his Heirs or Assigns, shall
 “ from time to time think meet: And such
 “ persons to permit and continue, at and during
 “ the pleasure of the said Sir WILLIAM D’AVE-
 “ NANT, his Heirs or Assigns, from time to
 “ time, to act Plays and Entertainments of the
 “ Stage, of all sorts, peaceably and quietly,
 “ without the impeachment or impediment of
 “ any person or persons whatsoever, for the
 “ honest recreation of such as shall desire to see
 “ the same.

“ AND that it shall and may be lawful to
 “ and for the said Sir WILLIAM D’AVENANT,
 “ his

“ his Heirs and Assigns, to take and receive of
 “ such our subjects as shall resort to see or hear
 “ any such Plays, Scenes, and Entertainments
 “ whatsoever, such sum or sums of money as
 “ either have accustomably been given and taken
 “ in the like kind, or as shall be thought
 “ reasonable by him or them, in regard of the
 “ great expences of scenes, musick, and such
 “ new decorations, as have not been formerly
 “ used.

“ AND further, for Us, our Heirs and Suc-
 “ cessors, We do hereby give and grant unto
 “ the said Sir WILLIAM D’AVENANT, his
 “ Heirs and Assigns, full power to make such
 “ allowances, out of that which he shall so
 “ receive by the acting of Plays and Enter-
 “ tainments of the Stage as aforesaid, to the
 “ actors and other persons employed in acting,
 “ representing, or in any quality whatsoever
 “ about the said Theatre, as he or they shall
 “ think fit; and that the said Company shall be
 “ under the sole government and authority of
 “ the said Sir WILLIAM D’AVENANT, his Heirs
 “ and Assigns. And all scandalous and muti-
 “ nous persons shall, from time to time, be by
 “ him and them ejected and disabled from play-
 “ ing in the said Theatre.

“ AND for that We are informed, that divers
 “ companies of players have taken upon them
 “ to act Plays publicly in our said cities of
 “ London and Westminster, or the suburbs there-

“ of, without any authority for that purpose:
 “ We do hereby declare our dislike of the same;
 “ and will and grant, that only the said Com-
 “ pany erected and set up, or to be erected and
 “ set up, by the said Sir WILLIAM D’AVE-
 “ NANT, his Heirs and Assigns, by virtue of
 “ these Presents, and one other Company erected
 “ and set up, or to be erected and set up,
 “ by THOMAS KILLIGREW, Esq; his Heirs
 “ and Assigns, and none other, shall from
 “ henceforth act or represent Comedies, Trage-
 “ dies, Plays, or Entertainments of the Stage,
 “ within our said cities of London and West-
 “ minster, or the suburbs thereof; which said
 “ Company to be erected by the said THOMAS
 “ KILLIGREW, his Heirs or Assigns, shall be
 “ subject to his and their government and au-
 “ thority, and shall be styled the Company of
 “ Us and Our Royal Consort.

“ AND the better to preserve amity and cor-
 “ respondency betwixt the said Companies, and
 “ that the one may not inroach upon the other
 “ by any indirect means, We will and ordain,
 “ that no Actor or other Person employed
 “ about either of the said Theatres, erected by
 “ the said Sir WILLIAM D’AVENANT and THO-
 “ MAS KILLIGREW, or either of them, or de-
 “ serting his Company, shall be received by the
 “ Governor or any of the said other Company,
 “ or any other person or persons to be employed
 “ in acting, or in any matter relating to the
 “ Stage,

“ Stage, without the consent and approbation
 “ of the Governor of the Company whereof
 “ the said person so ejected or deserting was a
 “ member, signified under his hand and seal.
 “ And We do by these Presents declare all
 “ other Company and Companies, saving the
 “ two Companies before mentioned, to be fi-
 “ lenced and suppressed.

“ AND forasmuch as many Plays, formerly
 “ acted, do contain several prophane, obscene,
 “ and scurrilous passages; and the women’s
 “ parts therein have been acted by men in the
 “ habits of women, at which some have taken
 “ offence; for the preventing of these abuses
 “ for the future, We do hereby straitly charge,
 “ and command and enjoin, that from hence-
 “ forth no new Play shall be acted by either of
 “ the said Companies, containing any passages
 “ offensive to piety and good-manners, nor any
 “ old or revived Play, containing any such of-
 “ fensive passages as aforesaid, until the same
 “ shall be corrected and purged, by the said
 “ Masters or Governors of the said respective
 “ Companies, from all such offensive and scan-
 “ dalous passages, as aforesaid. And We do
 “ likewise permit and give leave that all the
 “ women’s parts to be acted in either of the said
 “ two Companies for the time to come may be
 “ performed by women, so long as these recre-
 “ ations, which, by reason of the abuses afore-
 “ said, were scandalous and offensive, may by
 “ such

“ such reformation be esteemed not only harm-
 “ less delights, but useful and instructive repre-
 “ sentations of human life, to such of Our
 “ good Subjects as shall resort to see the same.

“ AND these our Letters Patents, or the in-
 “ rollment thereof, shall be in all things good
 “ and effectual in the law, according to the true
 “ intent and meaning of the same, any thing
 “ in these Presents contained, or any Law, Sta-
 “ tute, Act, Ordinance, Proclamation, Provi-
 “ sion, Restriction, or any other matter, cause,
 “ or thing whatsoever, to the contrary in any
 “ wise notwithstanding; although express men-
 “ tion of the true yearly value, or certainty of
 “ the premises, or of any of them, or of any
 “ other gifts or grants by Us, or by any of Our
 “ Progenitors or Predecessors heretofore made to
 “ the said Sir WILLIAM D’AVENANT in these
 “ Presents, is not made, or any other Statute,
 “ Act, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation, or
 “ Restriction, heretofore had, made, enacted,
 “ ordained, or provided, or any other matter,
 “ cause, or thing whatsoever, to the contrary
 “ thereof in any wise notwithstanding. In wit-
 “ ness whereof, We have caused these our Let-
 “ ters to be made Patents. Witness Ourself
 “ at Westminster, the 15th day of January, in
 “ the fourteenth year of our reign.

“ By the King.

HOWARD.”

25 April,

25 April, 24 CAR. II. 1662.

THE King granted like Letters Patents to THOMAS KILLIGREW, Esq; one of the Grooms of his Bed-chamber, and to his Heirs and Assigns, to erect a Royal Theatre, with the like powers and authorities, *mutatis mutandis*, as in the said Letters Patents to Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT*.

The Reader, by comparing these two Patents, will plainly see, that the powers granted by each to the several Patentees are exactly the same; that the motives for granting Sir WILLIAM'S are much stronger and of more weight than those for granting Sir RICHARD'S, quite contrary to his positive assertion, in these words: "The Grant to STEELE for life, and three years after, is given upon stronger motives than those alledged for granting to D'AVENANT and KILLIGREW for ever. King CHARLES'S Grants were acts of mere favour and motion; that of King GEORGE'S for worthy services expressly recited; and has merit above them (I mean only as to the force of the Patents, not the character of the Patentees) as much as voluntary acts are more valid in law than those given for valuable considerations. This is the title by which Sir RICHARD STEELE is Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians."

* Both these patents are said to be now possessed by the proprietors of Covent Garden Theatre.

IN order the more plainly to confute what the Knight has here fondly and falsely asserted, I shall here transcribe the motives of each Patent :

“ AND whereas the said Sir WILLIAM D’A-
 “ VENANT hath surrendered our said Letters
 “ Patents of Exemplification, and also the said
 “ recited Letters Patents granted by Our Royal
 “ Father, into our Court of Chancery, to be
 “ cancelled, which surrender we have accepted,
 “ and do accept by these Presents ;

“ KNOW ye that We, of our especial grace,
 “ certain knowledge, and meer motion, and
 “ upon the humble Petition of the said Sir
 “ WILLIAM D’AVENANT, and in consideration
 “ of the good and faithful services which he
 “ the said Sir WILLIAM D’AVENANT hath
 “ done unto Us, and doth intend to do for
 “ the future ; and in consideration of the said
 “ surrender, have given and granted,” &c.

THAT the KNIGHT may not complain of a partial representation of the motives to his Patent, I shall begin to transcribe from it, even before those considerations which are the immediate motives to the Grant.

His Majesty, having declared that his design in this Patent was to reform the Stage from those abominable abuses of religion and morality, which had crept by ill management into it, thus proceeds :

“ WE

“ WE having seriously resolved on the pre-
 “ mises, and being well satisfied of the ability
 “ and good disposition of our trusty and well-
 “ beloved RICHARD STEELE, Esq; for the
 “ promoting these our royal purposes, not only
 “ from his public services to Religion and Vir-
 “ tue, but his steady adherence to the true in-
 “ terest of his country: Know ye that We,
 “ out of our especial grace, certain knowledge,
 “ and meer motion, and in consideration of the
 “ good and faithful services which the said
 “ RICHARD STEELE hath done Us, and doth
 “ intend to do for the future, have given and
 “ granted,” &c.

Now if the words “ meer motion,” in Sir WILLIAM’s Patent, destroy all the considerations mentioned by King CHARLES, and make his Grant to be only of grace and favour; I desire the KNIGHT to shew a reason why those very words should not have the same effect in his Patent, and destroy his services as well as they did those of Sir WILLIAM’s, and in what consists that advantage which he boasts to have above Sir WILLIAM. He says, indeed, that it was granted him for “ worthy services expressly recited;” whereas there is not one particular service mentioned in the Patent, so that this is a plain and evident prevarication or untruth. It is true, his Majesty is pleased graciously to declare his opinion, that the KNIGHT is fitly qualified to put his pious in-

tentions into practice, from the KNIGHT's "public services to religion, virtue, and steady adherence to the true interest of his country;" but that being only in the preamble, and what the KNIGHT's practice never made good, and being likewise couched in general terms, and not joined to the considerations of the Grant, cannot fairly be put into the motives; and it seems the effect of an uncommon assurance, in which the KNIGHT is every where extremely happy, to instance a point as an argument of his merit, which so visibly contains a condemnation of his conduct and his Patent, since he has not at any time, during his administration, made one step towards those glorious ends proposed by his Majesty for the service of religion and virtue, nor reformed the least abuse of either. The same lewd Plays being acted and revived without any material alteration, which gave occasion for that universal complaint against the English Stage, of lewdness and debauchery, from all the sober and religious part of the nation; the whole business of Comedy continuing all his time to be the criminal intrigues of fornication and adultery, ridiculing of marriage, virtue, and integrity, the giving a favourable turn to vicious characters, and instructing loose people how to carry on their lewd designs with plausibility and success; thus, among other Plays, they have revived "The Country Wife;" "Sir Fopling Flutter;" "The Rover;" "The Libertine destroyed;" and several others; and
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it is remarkable, that the KNIGHT, or his coadjutors, had condemned* “Sir Fopling Flutter,” as one of the most execrable and vicious Plays that ever was performed in public. Is this pursuing the ends his Majesty proposed of removing all these evils from the Stage? Is this to make good that gracious character his Majesty was pleased to give to him, of “faithful services to Religion and Virtue, and that steady adherence to the true interest of his country” (which he would have now the recital of his merits), when by his sole conduct as Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians, he has thus betrayed them all, and endeavoured to destroy and eradicate them as far as he could out of the minds of human society? nay, is not this plainly and evidently a forfeiture of his Patent? It must be so, if to act diametrically contrary to the express design of his Patent can be a forfeiture; but he may say perhaps, that to exclude all Plays that turn upon this criminal bottom from being represented, would be impracticable, because there would be very few left for the entertainment of the Audience; so that this would be to destroy, and not to reform, the Stage. To this I reply, that it is certainly impracticable to reform the Stage by making use of those very Plays which have all along corrupted it; and that it is much better there should be no Stage at all, than a Stage that can only be supported by teaching of Vice,

* See SPECTATOR N° 65. It was one of STEELE'S Papers.

Irreligion, and Prophaneness : and to assert, that this reformation cannot be obtained by application and industry, is to assert, that his Majesty by this grant proposes to himself the pursuit of a mere chimera ; a very grateful return for the bounty he has bestowed, and that pious and royal care and zeal which he has expressed for the Religion and morals of his people.

The KNIGHT may perhaps further urge, that he and his companions have cut several smutty and profane passages out of the Plays that are now in action ; though this would be but *gratis dictum*, and cannot well be proved to be fact ; yet were it true, whilst many more are left behind untouched, and the whole body of the entertainment remains so abominably corrupt, it falls far short of what his Majesty proposes in the beginning of this Patent, and amounts to no more than the pulling off three or four patches from a seducing Harlot's face, and leaving her at liberty with the rest, and her other enticing ornaments and arts, still to mislead the young and the uncautious into perdition : and this was the evil that Sir RICHARD's faithful services to Religion and Virtue were to prevent, and which he certainly might have prevented in all this time, if he had ever entertained the least thought of making any advances towards it ; and this is evident from the French Stage, which has afforded from MOLIERE's pen many Comedies that are as innocent as diverting ; and if we have no MOLIERE now in being to give us new ones after that way, as well as after
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the best of BEN JONSON's, there are pens to be found, upon a just encouragement of the Theatre, that could at least have given us very agreeable translations of that great French Poet.

I fear the KNIGHT must at last be reduced to lay the blame upon his partners in power, and urge that he could not prevail with them to make any reformation at all of the Stage, or any improvement, but of the income, or money that these entertainments brought them in. But what then becomes of your governorship, Sir RICHARD? What is the benefit of your being "whole and sole Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians," if either you will not or cannot perform the conditions for which that *whole* and *sole* government was given you? Or why may not the King, upon information of the continuance of these disorders of the Theatre, take out of your hands this *whole* and *sole* government, after six years trial of your incapacity, or want of will to execute it as you ought: as his Majesty has now done by his Revocation under his Sign-manual, brought against a former licence granted by his Majesty, and not against your Patent, as you seem tacitly in one place to confess; though you have made all this noise about the illegal invasion of your freehold, without any ground in truth and fact, as shall suddenly be made out.

But I cannot dismiss what I have already quoted from the KNIGHT, without some few other considerations upon it.

“ That of King GEORGE for worthy services
“ expressly recited, and has merit above them
“ (I mean only as to the force of the Patents,
“ not the character of the Patentees) as much
“ as voluntary acts are more valid in Law than
“ those given for valuable considerations.”

I am loth to say of so celebrated a Writer, that these words make an unintelligible jargon, and are downright nonsense; but this I must say, that his meaning is concealed under so great an obscurity, that my understanding, as well as that of my friends, are not able to find out what he designs by them. I have already proved, that there is no express recital of any particular services done by the KNIGHT, though he is pleased to assert that there are. All the terms in his Patent are general, and therefore cannot with any propriety or sense be said to be a recital of his many worthy services, which implies an enumeration of particulars, and not a bare mention of services in general, which being no more than what King CHARLES expresses of the services of Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT, can neither clear Sir RICAARD STEELE from that notorious falsity of which he is guilty, or give his Patent any force above that of Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT, as he ridiculously contends. The reason which he gives for the superior force of his Patent, above that of Sir WILLIAM's, is plainly unintelligible. I would first demand of him, what he means by a greater force to the Patent, were his imaginary recital true, which is evidently false? In what does
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this force consist? Does it make his Patent more legal, the powers he receives from it more extensive, than Sir WILLIAM's? I think not; both Patents are equally legal, and the same Powers conveyed by each of them to the several Patentees.

“As voluntary acts are more valid in Law, than those given for valuable considerations.” What the KNIGHT means by voluntary acts, I confess, I am wholly at a loss to find out. Does he mean that the King's act of granting this Patent was voluntary? If so, then he cancels all his pretensions to that merit and those services which he has hitherto been making the foundation and cause of his grant, on which he builds the pre-eminence of his, above that of Sir WILLIAM's; but then he forgets that he himself has made (though falsely) King CHARLES's grant a meer voluntary action, without any motive of services at all.

If by “voluntary acts” he means, that his services were voluntary acts; why may not the same be said of those done by Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT to King CHARLES? I am sure the importance of Sir WILLIAM's was much greater, and the risque and dangers he ran infinitely more than any Sir RICHARD can pretend to. Sir WILLIAM, besides long attendance upon the exiled Monarch, and fidelity to his Father, was employed here in several hazardous negotiations under the Usurpation of OLIVER, even to the Restoration of the Royal Family; the services of Sir RICHARD consisted only in publish-
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ing some penny papers, and two or three pamphlets. I say *publishing*, because not the hundredth part of them was written by himself, for which he at that time received a very plentiful reward; and after the King's accession to the Crown, a present at one time of five hundred pounds, and posts which might have been to him, and would have been to any body else, worth three thousand pounds a year. To prove this, I shall take another opportunity, if the KNIGHT shall give me any farther occasion. Again, "as voluntary acts are more valid in Law, than those given for valuable considerations." I confess, that I am not so profound a Lawyer as the KNIGHT; but I thought there could be no act more valid in law, than what was done upon a valuable consideration. For example, suppose I buy an estate of a person justly and legally seized of it, and he for a full, valuable consideration conveys the said estate to me; I always imagine such a conveyance to be as valid as any thing could be in the Law. If the KNIGHT requires a further answer to this point, let him explain himself so far as to be understood; I promise him a reply equal to the merits of his arguments.

From Sir WILLIAM's Patent recited, and Sir RICHARD's printed in his own Pamphlet, and what has been since urged in this Discourse; it is plain, that there is no power given to Sir RICHARD but what had before been granted
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to Sir WILLIAM, as Sir RICHARD himself acknowledges, both in his Letter to my Lord Chamberlain, and the Pamphlet under our present consideration, called, "The State of the Case," &c.

Sir RICHARD's Patent, therefore, must be liable to the same restrictions, and the same subordination, to which the former Patents were subject; nor has he the least justice or pretence to plead any exemption from that subordination which the others did not enjoy, nor ever so much as pretended to enjoy, by virtue of those very words with which Sir RICHARD makes such a mighty noise, viz. "The sole Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians;" for those words are in Sir WILLIAM's Patent, as well as Sir RICHARD's; yet neither Sir WILLIAM, nor any holding from him, ever disputed the Lord Chamberlain's power of inspecting into their Conduct, of hearing any complaints of the Actors or Patentees, and the deciding of them, that having been the constant usage and custom, and a right never denied, to belong to the Lord Chamberlain at any time in being; particular instances of which I shall give by and by; for they know, that in all grants, the intention of the donor must be considered; and they likewise very well know, that the Royal Donor never did or could give away the right and proper duties of the great Ministers of his Family, in which there must be always a subordination observed, or confusion must follow.

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Can any one suppose that the King would give it out of his power of turning off any servant, let him be guilty of never so great an indignity or insolence to himself or his great Ministers, or suffer such to be protected by the pride or folly of a Patentee, who derives his power from his grant, and that without controul? That there have been these indignities and affronts offered, and punished by the Lord Chamberlain, we shall make out hereafter; that this punishment, though submitted to by former Patentees, has been opposed and contested by a present Patentee, is evident from his own words in print, where he plainly tells the Town, that my Lord Chamberlain, in punishing CIBBER's insolence, meddled with that with which he had nothing to do; and in a Letter which he mentions, written to my Lord upon that occasion, lets his Grace know, that as Patentee he cannot; that is, indeed, he will not submit to his Grace's determination, in his silencing of CIBBER. It is true, the KNIGHT, in "The State of his Case," would have you think that he never disputed my Lord's power, which he expresses in this dull, sarcastic, and contradictory manner.

"The Patent itself, as to the power in it,
 "is exactly the same with those formerly grant-
 "ed, and no way opposes or impairs any au-
 "thority of a Chamberlain any more than those
 "did. Neither is there any the least preten-
 "sion, or colour of pretension, for disputing
 "this

“ this authority, without those who dispute it
 “ will assert, that King GEORGE is not to all
 “ Intents and Purposes as much King of Eng-
 “ land, as King CHARLES II.”

In this wise quotation, our KNIGHT first owns, that there is nothing in his Patent opposes my Lord Chamberlain's power any more than former Patents did ; and yet, in this same Pamphlet; he so far opposes my Lord Chamberlain's power by his Patent, as to say, my Lord has nothing to do with the Stage ; whereas all former Patents have owned, and submitted to the power of the Chamberlain upon all such occasions ; and none can dispute this authority of the Chamberlain, without those who dispute it will assert, “ That King GEORGE is not, to all Intents and Purposes, as much King of England as King CHARLES II.”

Nay, he has not only denied this power of my Lord in this present Pamphlet ; but owns in his THEATRE, that by a Letter he positively opposed, and refused to submit to that power. Such contradictions are very common and obvious in all that the KNIGHT is pleased to *visit the world with.*

SIR RICHARD has more than once granted, that his Patent conveys no powers to him, which were not granted by former Patents to other Patentees ; what therefore was looked upon to be no infringement of the right and property of those Patents, can never be looked upon as an invasion, or a taking away by violence

lence his legal right and property. Let us therefore take a short view of some transactions relating to the Stage Patents within these thirty years.

Till Queen Mary's death, the Patent was in full possession, and entirely Master of the Stage; but after her death Mr. BETTERTON and all the principal Players in one body deserted their Patent, and by the then Lord Chamberlain's interest obtained a Licence to act for themselves, and this without any imputation of invading and violently taking away the legal right of the then Patentees Sir THOMAS SKIPWITH and Mr. RICH; nor indeed could it be so called, because they meddled not at all with the Patent, but left that in the hands of Sir THOMAS and Mr. RICH to make the best of it; nor could there be any injustice done by the Crown's exerting its power to grant a new licence whensoever it pleased, and to whomsoever it thought fit, and no Patent could rob the Crown of that prerogative; nor do I find any words in Sir RICHARD's Patent, by which the King ties himself up from granting any Licence, or even any other Patent, if he should think fit.

SIR THOMAS and Mr. RICH, by the help of HENRY's PURCELL's excellent Musick, and the great industry of a young Company of Players and a considerable expence of money, retrieved the loss of the old Players, and made his young ones under the Patent rival the Licence, and
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carry away the Town from it. The same Method might Sir RICAARD have pursued if he had thought fit; for the King has not yet meddled with his Patent. He has it still to open a New House with, if he thinks fit; and which indeed I would advise him to do, being a person so eminent for good management and perfect œconomy, that he cannot miss of soon coping with the Drury Lane deserters. But indeed it were to be wished that he could have inserted into his Patent, that it should not be lawful for any Player or Players, male or female, ever to desert him, or leave acting under his Patent, till he thought fit to dismiss them; but I am afraid that this is a condition which is not in the power of the Crown to grant him.

Nobody ever disputed King WILLIAM's power to grant such a Licence, notwithstanding the Patent then in being; and will Sir RICHARD, with all his boasted loyalty to King GEORGE, pretend that he has not the same power to grant a new Licence to whomsoever he shall think fit, notwithstanding Sir RICHARD's Patent? which has nothing in it that can in the least argue his most gracious Majesty guilty of any injustice, illegal action, or unwarrantable severity in doing so, especially on such grounds, and such important reasons as I shall shew before I conclude this discourse; and yet this is all that has been done in this affair of the Stage, which has, by the KNIGHT's unreasonable clamours, made such a noise.

There would be no end of giving instances of the jurisdiction exercised by the Lord Chamberlain over the Stage, all the reigns of King WILLIAM and Queen ANNE, notwithstanding the *sole* government so much insisted upon by Sir RICHARD. Players were silenced by the Lord Chamberlain; Plays forbidden or commanded; particular parts assigned to particular persons, and even such as were not Players authorised to act some certain parts by the Lord Chamberlain's authority. To give all the instances the subject would permit, would be to make a volume of them alone; whenever a Player was oppressed or injured by the Patentee or *sole* Governor, he was summoned to appear and answer the complaint; and if it was proved just and reasonable, the *sole* Governor was obliged, by the Lord Chamberlain's order, to repair it.

I will give but two instances, in this place, of Players being silenced by the Lord Chamberlain's authority, for affronts to private Gentlemen only. The one was GEORGE POWEL, then a principal Player, for an insult offered originally to young D'AVENANT, and in some measure repeated to the then Colonel STANHOPE, in WILL's Coffee-house; nor was he permitted to play again till he had asked public pardon of those two Gentlemen, and obtained the mediation for taking off his Silence. The other was VERBRUGIN, who was silenced by the Lord Chamberlain for an affront offered to two young
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gentlemen of Quality at the Theatre in Dorset Garden, without any regard to the Patent, or consultation of the then *sole* Governor constituted by it; nor could he appear upon the Stage again until he had made his peace with the Gentlemen affronted.

“The Island Princess” was altered, and musical words made to it, by Mr. MOTTEUX. The Patentee or *sole* Governor denied to give him a *third day* according to custom, the alterations being but few; but the Patentee proffered him a certain sum of money, in consideration of his musical words; which not satisfying Mr. MOTTEUX, he summoned him before the Lord Chamberlain, where, by the mediation of the then Lord Chamberlain’s Secretary, the matter was compromised, and the dispute ended, to the satisfaction of the Poet. I could give various other instances of this nature, but that I endeavour to avoid prolixity.

There was a young Gentlewoman, whose name was GARRET; who having a mighty inclination to be a Player, and having fruitlessly endeavoured to have admission with the Patentees and the Deputies, by my mediation with his Grace the Duke of KENT, the then Lord Chamberlain, she obtained his order to Mr. RICH, to act the part of Helena in “The Rover,” which she performed with universal applause. In all these cases, the *sole* Governor or Patentee never made the least hesitation in

submitting to the determination of the Lord Chamberlain for the time being.

I shall pass over all the affair of Mr. VANBRUGH, now Sir JOHN VANBRUGH, though it is capable of affording something to my present purpose; nor shall I run through the particulars of the contest between Sir THOMAS SKIPWITH by his Trustee Mr. BRETT, and Mr. RICH, because they were both claimants under the same Patent; but, passing, all that hurly-burly and confusion over in silence, I shall come to the total rejection of the Patent, in consequence of a silence imposed upon it by the Lord Chamberlain, on account of a complaint of the Players against the *sole* Governor. The grievances complained of were these.

After Mr. RICH was again restored to the management of the Play-house, he made an order to stop a certain proportion of the clear profits of every Benefit-play without exception; which being done, and reaching the chief Players as well as the underlings, zealous application was made to the Lord Chamberlain, to oblige Mr. RICH to return the money stopped to each particular. The dispute lasted some time, and Mr. RICH, not giving full satisfaction upon that head was silenced; during the time of which silence, the chief Players, either by a new Licence, or by some former (which I cannot absolutely determine, my Memoirs being not at this time by me), set up for themselves,

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and got into the possession of the Play-house in Drury Lane; nor did he ever again make any advantage of his Patent during his life, notwithstanding his *sole* Governorship, his Property, and his Freehold, about which Sir RICHARD makes such a senseless noise. In short, Mr. RICH makes out his right to the Patent before the Attorney General and other great Lawyers, then petitions the Council, who, refusing to determine the matter, refer him to the Law, and so matters rested till he built a New House in Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

Perhaps it may be thought that I have been guilty of a work of supererogation in giving these few instances of that power over the Patentees of the Play-house, constantly exercised by his Grace the Duke of NEWCASTLE's predecessors, in the Office of Lord CHAMBERLAIN, and never contested till now; since Sir RICHARD himself confesses this truth in the following words: "When I resign them, they may be governed by your Grace's Successors in your office, as they have been by your Predecessors, according to humour and caprice, and not reason and justice."

Here the KNIGHT plainly owns that his Grace's Predecessors did exercise their authority, which we have been proving; and which I think therefore sufficient to shew that his Grace has done nothing upon this occasion, against Sir RICHARD STEELE's Patent, but what is according to former precedents, and the constant prac-

tice of all the Lord Chamberlains before him ; and indeed it is inconsistent with the œconomy and due regulation of the Royal Household, to deprive the Lord Chamberlain of his jurisdiction over any part of it which was ever under his inspection, and therefore it could never be supposed that any words in any Patent could be meant in that sense. *Sole* Governor is no more here than Director in those things mentioned before in the Patent ; there is no Charter, or Patent, that I know of, that gives any such despotic power, or rules, so beyond all controul, that there is no appeal from it ; nor any Visitor to hear complaints, inspect miscarriages, and redress oppressions, injustices, and grievances : and yet this is what Sir RICHARD contends for ; he would be Judge in his own cause, and do what injustice, and commit what insults, he pleases, without any redress to the persons aggrieved, but by a long and tedious suit to the Courts of Westminster Hall, which is a remedy, he knows, that few of those whom he can oppress are capable of obtaining ; whereas by the Law of the Household, that is, the decisive power of the Lord Chamberlain, they find an immediate redress.

But Sir RICHARD is pleased to say, that his Grace's predecessors exercised this power indeed, but decided all things by caprice and humour, not reason and injustice : but this is an assertion equally false and insolent ; so insolent, that it could come indeed from no man but him
 who

who has publicly in print (for I shall take no notice of his private conversation) abused both the Ministry and his Majesty, not only in that scandalous Epistle Dedicatory to himself, but in his THEATRE; telling the world a very foolish story about King WILLIAM and Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE (a meer dull fiction of his own), that his Majesty is surrounded by a company of dull, heavy fellows.

But Sir RICHARD ought to have shewn, by undeniable instances, that all the decisions of the former Lord Chamberlains were made by caprice and humour, and not by reason and justice. I am sure, it is more rational to expect reason and justice from a person of the Lord Chamberlain's high station, in matters which can afford him no motives of perverting either, than from a Patentee or his Deputy, who may make an advantage of an unjust decision in their own behalf. But, to draw towards a conclusion, I shall but just set the present matter of fact in a true light, and make an end; reserving much more than I have delivered in this pamphlet to another opportunity, where I shall produce, if required so to do, unquestionable vouchers for all I have urged.

The KNIGHT has made a great stir, in many of his Papers, with his Courage, his Honesty, and his Religion. I shall not lose time here to examine into the validity of either of them; but shall only observe, that I never knew a man truly brave make such *Thraſonic* boasts of his

courage; nor a man truly virtuous make such a noise with his honesty; nor a man truly religious crying up his sanctity at the corner of the streets, and on the tops of houses; for these are the refuges of *Faux-braves*, Knaves, and Hypocrites; but indeed the KNIGHT's extraordinary conduct in this and some other matters made it necessary that he should claim some extraordinary excellencies, to make it go down with the unthinking, by them to cover his folly and his falsehood. His folly I shall say little to at present, and only put him in mind of the wise man's advice: "Contend not with one mightier than thyself," &c. But as for his falsehood, I am obliged to come to particulars, in order to remove those scandalous obloquies, those impudent calumnies, which the KNIGHT has thought fit, without any ground in truth, to throw upon his Grace the Duke of NEWCASTLE. He first would insinuate, that all this evil is come upon him for the freedom of his conduct in Parliament; and very gratefully tells the Duke, that others, who were chosen Members of Parliament by his Grace's interest, have voted as they thought fit, and yet that his Grace has not entered upon their estates, as he has done upon his; but we shall plainly presently see that there is no need of having recourse to this vain, this groundless, this ingrateful, this imaginary cause of what has happened to the KNIGHT; and therefore that Sir RICHARD has only trump up
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up this, to throw an odium upon the Duke. But more of this in another place.

The next falsehood I shall take notice of is, when the KNIGHT asserts that there was no cause for the silencing of CIBBER, but only to come at *Him*; and that there was likewise no more cause for silencing the Company. This double falsity I shall confute by matter of fact. I have shewn by former examples that Players have been silenced but for affronting particular private Gentlemen; but CIBBER, in that Epistle Dedicatory to Sir RICHARD, has, in the most flagrant, most impudent, most insolent, and most traiterous manner, abused the whole Ministry, and his MAJESTY himself; which audacious conduct was never equaled by any man in any civilized Government whatsoever. Whether this was the cause of his silencing or not, sure I am that it is sufficient to justify his being silenced; but I shall mention yet another cause. My Lord Duke had a mind to have a certain part performed by a certain Actor, which was generally acted by one of the Managers. My Lord, upon letting Mr. CIBBER know his commands, was plainly told by him, "that it could not be done, because the part belonged to one of the Managers;" and when my Lord urged his authority, to enforce his commands, CIBBER, visibly slighting his authority, in half a laugh, said, "that they were a sort of a separate Ministry," and so absolutely refused to obey my Lord Chamberlain; upon which he is

silenced; and, by the examples I have given, justly and rightfully silenced. CIBBER submits to his punishment; but Sir RICHARD, the Patentee, insists upon his Patent, and denies his Lordship's authority to do what he has done; and this not only by a private letter, which he has owned in print, but in his THEATRES, and in all the negociations about this affair, obstinately persisting in his declaration of opposing my Lord's power; but his Grace was so far from using violence to his Patent, that he sent him word it should be attacked by Law, and, whenever it is so, it will be certainly proved forfeited in several instances, which I could name were it my business. But to clear up this point, which the KNIGHT has brought to an obscurity in this dispute for his own sake, to give a specious pretence to the noise and clamour he has made about the invasion of his property; the Town must know, that his Property and Freehold, that is, his Patent, has not been touched at all, but remains to him as entire as ever it did. The fact is thus, which I desire the Reader would attend to, that he may visibly see the KNIGHT's fallacy, which is a signal specimen of his honour and gratitude.

On the 18th of October, 1714, the King grants a Licence to RICHARD STEELE, Esq. now Sir RICHARD STEELE, Knt. Mr. ROBERT WILKS, Mr. COLLEY CIBBER, Mr. THOMAS DOGGET, and Mr. BARTON BOOTH. The 19th day of January, in the same year, his MAJESTY grants

grants a Patent to STEELE, during life, and three years after, by which he is empowered to form a Company of Comedians, &c. as you find in his Patent printed by himself; but this Patent did not recall the former Licence, granted in October, to the persons therein mentioned, but remained in full force till his MAJESTY'S revocation of it last January. And though the KNIGHT makes such a noise about that revocation, yet it is plain that it is only directed to recall the said Licence, without concerning itself with the Patent. The Managers of the Play-house certainly acted by this Licence all along, and not by the Patent, because by the Licence they had an equal share in the management and profits. By the Patent, they were wholly dependent on the good-will of the KNIGHT. If he has made any new contract with the Managers wholly by virtue of the Patent, then is such a contract in full force against such as were concerned in the said contract, and he may put it in suit whenever he pleases; but I am satisfied that there is no such contract, and that the Players acted to that time by virtue of the Licence, and not the Patent. The KNIGHT himself cannot pretend that revocation of such Licence can be called a violent taking away of his Property and Freehold; since whatever right he had in *that* was determinable by the KING'S will and pleasure, and that will and pleasure was declared by his MAJESTY'S revocation under his Sign-manual. And the Com-
pany

pany acting by the authority of the Licence, being thus dissolved and disbanded, with a great deal of reason and prudence, chose rather to put themselves under his MAJESTY'S immediate care, by accepting of a new Licence granted to themselves, than risque all their fortunes and their substance by depending on the KNIGHT'S honour, and the validity and duration of his Patent, in opposition to the Lord Chamberlain, and even his MAJESTY'S royal authority: since any one that is master of common-sense might easily perceive that the KNIGHT could not long maintain a power which was not founded in law or reason; and his friends and confederates, "his tenants and his servants" as he calls them, deserted him, and listed themselves under another banner; and which they were free to do, if they had acted under the Patent alone, entirely without the Licence abovementioned, because the Patent could not compel any one to act under it contrary to his own inclination, but might have gone over to the other House, could they have made terms agreeable to their own interest; and therefore they were equally free to go over to this new Licence, without the least injury or injustice to the Patent, which neither did nor could grant any power to the KNIGHT to hinder them from so doing.

As my Lord Chamberlain in this did nothing but what is justifiable, as I have shewn by the practice of all the Lord Chamberlains before him; so he was compelled to take this course
by

by the obstinate and contumacious conduct of the KNIGHT, who had brought it to this one point; that either my Lord Chamberlain must quit that authority possessed by all his predecessors for near a hundred and fifty years, that is, ever since the Players were admitted into the Household, and so betray the trust reposed in him as Lord Chamberlain by his MAJESTY; or Sir RICHARD STEELE must quit his usurped authority, which no Patentee before him ever pretended to. I think no man of common sense or common honour would make the least doubt but that the latter ought rather to be done than the former; but this the KNIGHT absolutely refusing to do, my Lord Chamberlain's measures were as absolutely unavoidable, though by them the KNIGHT was by no means wronged in his Property and Freehold, but only punished for an evident mutiny against his superior officer.

What can the KNIGHT say, to justify his falsification of matter of fact, which has been thus demonstrated, and to clear himself of those most insolent abuses, which he has publicly offered a great Peer of the realm, and his confessed Patron and Benefactor? I have not room here to take notice of his unjust and barbarous treatment of Gentlemen of merit and learning during the whole course of his Administration, whose Plays he has not only kept from being read and acted, but never could be prevailed with in six years time to return them to the Authors;

thors ; though I suppose it will be granted that a Play is as much the property of an Author, as any Patent can be his : I shall leave a thorough disquisition of this point to another opportunity, where I shall sufficiently demonstrate that he was the most unqualified person in the world, both by understanding, learning, and principle, to be a *sole* Governor of a THEATRE ; I mean, for want of understanding, learning, and principle ; all which are certainly absolutely necessary for a just administration and improvement of the Stage. There I shall likewise shew that the authorities of the Lawyers which he has quoted is not at all to his purpose, or to the advantage of his Patent, but meerly to swell the bulk of his pamphlet, and prove that his Patent in reality is far from being worth making all this noise about ; since, if their opinion be true, it conveys no manner of power to the Patentee, of which he was not possessed without it, except that of making use of the Royal name to give his Players a grace above all others that could not do the same ; for they expressly tell us, that this is the only advantage of any Patent or Royal Licence, since every one is free without any such Patent or Licence to set up a Playhouse or Theatre, and act innocent and inoffensive Comedies, Tragedies, and Entertainments ; that no Patent can justify a thing that is in itself unlawful, or hinder any other from exercising the same lawful calling. All this shall be fully examined hereafter, as well as Mr. LECH-
MERE'S

MERE's compliment to him on the passing of his Patent ; but the many contadictions, absurdities, and falsities of this Pamphlet make me believe that the only view the KNIGHT had in the publication of it was to put five guineas into his pocket, which he might well hope the abundant scandal it contains might bring him in, since scandal is no new vehicle for nonsense and absurdity.

But, be that as it will, the KNIGHT is resolved to go off, like a cracker, with a bounce ; and it is well if it does not prove to be like that of a cracker, nothing else but noise, and a filthy smell in our nostrils.

T H R E E L E T T E R S,
From DENNIS to STEELE.

I. To Captain STEELE.

S I R,

July 28, 1710.

I SENT a letter on the 28th to your house, directed to Captain STEELE, and desiring to see him that night, that I might have his advice upon a business of importance; softly intimating at the same time, that it was not in my power to wait upon him. But, having neither seen him nor heard from him, I fancy that my old friend is departed, and some gentleman has succeeded him in the old house, with the same name, and the same martial title; a chance that happens oftener in the world than some people imagine. How should I have been surprized, in case I had gone myself, expecting, from the similitude of name and title, to have seen my old acquaintance! how should I have been surprized, to have found a man with quite another mind, and quite another countenance! My old friend, as I thought at least, had civility, had humanity, had a good and engaging officiousness; and as I did not take him to want good nature,

nature, so he had what the French call a good countenance, that is, the countenance of one who is pleased with him who talks to him. But, I suppose, I should have found nothing of all this in the noble Captain who succeeds him. You will say, perhaps, that you had no reason to make a visit to one whom you know not, and are resolved not to know. But then, noble Captain, you ought to have sent back my letter, and to have given me to understand, that you are not the person that I took you for; that you should have enough to do, if you were obliged to own all the acquaintance of the Captain, your predecessor; that I am not the first man who has made this mistake, and shall not probably be the last. Had you done this, I had had no replication to make to so equitable an answer. I should only perhaps have advised you, in order to the preventing some troublesome visits, and some impertinent letters, to cause an advertisement to be inserted in Squire BICKERSTAFF's next *Lucubrations*, by which the world might be informed, that the Captain STEELE, who lives now in Bury-street, is not the Captain of the same name who lived there two years ago, and that the acquaintance of the military person who inhabited there formerly may go look for their old friend even where they can find him.

I am yours, &c.

II. To

II. To Sir RICHARD STEELE,
Patentee of the Theatre in Drury-Lane.

S I R,

March 4, 1719.

THOUGH, at the time of writing this, I am almost overwhelmed both with sickness and grief, yet I cannot forbear making a just complaint to you, for your being the occasion of both these, either by actually breaking your word with me, or being perfectly passive while your Managers broke it; which, if it has not reduced me to immediate necessity, yet has brought me within the danger of it, and consequently within the apprehension of it, which is as grievous almost as the thing. And that this complaint is but too justly grounded, you yourself will acknowledge, when I have laid my case before you, which I shall do in as few words as I can.

It was upon the 27th of February, 1717, that I received a letter from Mr. Booth, by your direction, and the direction of the Managers under you, desiring me to dine at your house on the 28th, and after dinner to read the tragedy of *Coriolanus* to you, which I had altered from Shakespeare. You cannot but remember, Sir, that, upon reading it, the Play with the alterations was approved of, nay, and warmly approved of, by yourself, Mr. CIBBER, and Mr. BOOTH (the other Manager was not there);
and

and that resolutions were taken for the acting it in the beginning of this winter. Now I appeal to yourself, if any Dramatic performance could be more seasonable in the beginning of a winter, when we were threatened with an invasion from Sweden on the North, and from Spain on the West, than a Tragedy whose moral is thus expressed in the last lines of the Play :

“ ———They, who thro’ ambition or revenge,
 “ Or impious interest, join with foreign foes,
 “ T’ oppress or to destroy their native country,
 “ Shall find, like Coriolanus, soon or late,
 “ From their perfidious foreign friends their fate.”

I am sure, Sir, I need not tell one of your understanding, that this moral is so apparently the foundation of the Dramatic action, and must appear to every spectator and reader to be so truly the genuine result of it, that if I had not said one word of it, every reader and spectator would have been able to have suggested so much to himself.

Well, Sir, when the winter came on, what was done by your Deputies? Why, instead of keeping their word with me, they spent above two months of the season in getting up “ All for Love, or the World well Lost,” a Play which has indeed a noble first act, an act which ends with a scene becoming of the dignity of the Tragic Stage. But if HORACE had been now alive, and been either a reader or spectator

of that entertainment, he would have passed his old sentence upon the Author,

*Infelix operis summâ, quia ponere totum
Nesciet*.*

For was ever any thing so pernicious, so immoral, so criminal, as the design of that Play? I have mentioned the title of it, give me leave to set before you the two last lines:

“ And Fame to late posterity shall tell,
“ No lovers liv'd so great, or dy'd so well.”

And this encomium of the conduct and death of ANTHONY and CLEOPATRA, a conduct so immoral, and a self-murder so criminal, is, to give it more force, put into the mouth of the high-priest of Isis; though that priest could not but know, that what he thus commended would cause immediately the utter destruction of his country, and make it become a conquered and a Roman province. Certainly never could the design of an Author square more exactly with the design of Whitehall, at the time when it was written; which was by debauching the people absolutely to enslave them.

For pray, Sir, what do the title and the two last lines of this Play amount to in plain English? Why to this, that if any person of quality, or other, shall turn away his wife, his

* “ Unhappy in the whole, because unskill'd
“ To join the parts, and make them harmonize.”

DUNCOMBE.
young,

young, affectionate, virtuous, charming wife (for all these OCTAVIA was); to take to his bed a loose, abandoned prostitute; and shall in her arms exhaust his patrimony, destroy his health, emasculate his mind, and lose his reputation and all his friends; why all this is well and greatly done, his ruin is his commendation. And if afterwards, in despair, he either hangs or drowns himself, or goes out of the world like a rat, with a dose of arsenick or sublimate, why it is a great and an envied fate, he dies nobly and heroically. It is, Sir, with extreme reluctance that I have said all this; for I would not be thought to affront the memory of Mr. DRYDEN, for whose extraordinary qualities no man has a greater veneration than myself. But that all considerations ought to give place to the public good, is a truth of which you and all men, I am sure, can never doubt.

And can you believe then, after having recommended virtue and public spirit for so many years to the world, that you can give your subalterns authority to preach up adultery to a town, which stands so little in need of their doctrine? Is not the chastity of the marriage-bed one of the chief incendiaries of public spirit, and the frequency of adulteries one of the chief extinguishers of it? according to that of Horace* :

* 3 Od. vi. 17.

*Fœcunda culpæ secula, nuptias
Primum inquinavere, & genus, & domos.
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit *.*

For when adultery's become so frequent, especially among persons of condition, upon whose sentiments all public spirit chiefly depends, that a great many husbands begin to believe, or perhaps but to suspect, that they who are called their children are not their own; I appeal to you, Sir, if that belief or that suspicion must not exceedingly cool their zeal for the welfare of those children, and consequently for the welfare of posterity.

As I had infinitely the advantage of "All for Love" in the moral of "Coriolanus," I had it by consequence in the whole Tragedy; for the "Coriolanus," as I have altered it, having a just moral, and by consequence at the bottom a general and allegorical action, and universal and allegorical characters, and for that very reason a Fable, is therefore a true Tragedy, if it be not a just and a regular one; but it is as just and as regular as I could make it, upon so irregular a plan as SHAKSPEARE'S; whereas "All for Love" having no moral, and conse-

* "Fruitful of crimes, this age first stain'd
"Their hapless offspring, and profan'd
"The nuptial bed, from whence the woes,
"That various and unnumber'd rose
"From this polluted fountain-head,
"O'er Rome, and o'er the nations spread." FRANCIS.
quently

quently no general and allegorical action, nor general and allegorical characters, can for that reason have no fable, and therefore can be no Tragedy. It is indeed only a particular account of what happened formerly to ANTHONY and CLEOPATRA, and a most pernicious amusement.

— And as I had the advantage in the merit of “Coriolanus,” I had it likewise in the world’s opinion of the merit and reputation of SHAKSPEARE in Tragedy above that of Mr. DRYDEN. For let Mr. DRYDEN’s genius for Tragedy be what it will, he has more than once publicly owned, that it was much inferior to SHAKSPEARE’s, and particularly in those two remarkable lines in his Prologue to “Aurengzebe:”

“And when he hears his godlike Romans rage,
“He in a just despair would quit the Stage;”

And in the verses to Sir GODFREY KNELLER,

“SHAKSPEARE, thy gift, I place before my sight:
“With awe, I ask his blessing ere I write;
“With reverence look on his majestic face,
“Proud to be less, but of his godlike race.”

And the same Mr. DRYDEN has more than once declared to me, that there was something in this very Tragedy of “Coriolanus,” as it was written by SHAKSPEARE, that is truly great and truly Roman; and I more than once answered him, that it had always been my own opinion.

Now I appeal to You and your Managers, if it has lost any thing under my hands.

But what is more considerable than all this, your Deputy Lieutenants for the Stage have ten times the opinion of the advantage which SHAKSPEARE has over Mr. DRYDEN in Tragedy than either I or the rest of the world have. Ever since I was capable of reading SHAKSPEARE, I have always had, and have always expressed that veneration for him which is justly his due; of which I believe no one can doubt who has read the Essay which I published some years ago upon his Genius and Writings. But what they express upon all occasions is not esteem, is not admiration, but flat idolatry.

And, lastly, I had the advantage of the very opinion which those people had of their own interest in the case. They knew very well that it was but twelve years since "All for Love" had been acted. And they were likewise satisfied, that from its first run, as they call it, to the beginning of this last winter, it had never brought four audiences together. At the same time there was no occasion to tell them, that the "Coriolanus" of SHAKSPEARE had not been acted in twenty years; and that, when it was brought upon the Stage twenty years ago, it was acted twenty nights together.

And now, Sir, I shall be obliged to you if you will acquaint me for what mighty and unknown reason the "Coriolanus," notwithstanding your words solemnly given to act it as soon

as it could conveniently be brought upon the Stage this winter, notwithstanding the merit of the Play itself, I speak of SHAKSPEARE's part of it, notwithstanding the world's and their own opinion of the superior merit of SHAKSPEARE to Mr. DRYDEN in Tragedy, and their very opinion of their own interest in the case; nay, notwithstanding the exact reasonableness of the moral for the service of King GEORGE and of Great-Britain, which above all things ought to have been considered by those who call themselves the King's servants, and who act under his authority: I say, Sir, I should be extremely obliged to you if you would tell me what powerful reason could so far prevail over all those I have mentioned, as to engage them to postpone the "Coriolanus," not only for "All for Love," but likewise for that lamentable tragic Farce "Cæsar Borgia*," from which nobody expected any thing but themselves; and a Comedy after it called "The Masquerade †," from which they themselves declared they expected nothing. I am, &c.

* A Tragedy, by NAT. LEE.

† A Farce, by Benjamin Griffin, performed in 1717, at Lincoln's-Inn Fields, with some success. B10G. DRAM.

III. To Sir RICHARD STEELE.

Declaring the Reasons for which I published
the Two Volumes of "Select Works."

SIR,

Sept. 4, 1719.

I HERE send you, by the bearer, several pieces in verse and prose, written formerly by me, and lately printed in two volumes; but I send them not without a double design on you. For, first, I desire that you would have the goodness to oblige your Managers to make me some recompence this winter for the wrong which they did me the last. Secondly, I desire that you will give me leave to say something concerning the pieces contained in these two volumes, and more particularly concerning the motive which obliged me to write the chief of them at the first, and to publish them lately together; which I shall do with pleasure to one who has done so much good in the same cause in which most of them were written.

Several of the pieces in verse and prose, and three of the Plays, were written in the cause of Liberty. The narrative Poems of greater length were all of them written upon great and public occasions, and were designed as so many panegyrics upon those illustrious persons whose great and heroic actions had made them benefactors to Great Britain and Liberty.

It has always been my opinion, that a free nation can never be too zealous in maintaining their Liberties, because we have been taught, by too many fatal events, that they have at last been often lost by the security and corruptions of those who had for several centuries enjoyed them. Witness the ancient Grecians and Romans, and the ancient and modern Spaniards and French. But whenever the Liberties of a great Nation are in manifest danger, there all the several members of it, who are not abjectly base, will use their utmost efforts in defending them. The Liberties of Great Britain have in our own memory been in so much danger, that they have been twice in thirty years retrieved from immediate ruin, first by the Revolution, and secondly by the Accession of King GEORGE to the Imperial Crown of this island; but even now they by no means appear to me to be entirely secured.

Since the Revolution, things appear to have been strangely reversed in Great Britain with regard to Liberty. In four or five reigns immediately preceding the arrival of King WILLIAM, of immortal memory, the Court was for arbitrary power, and the people appeared strenuous for Liberty. But, since that time, the Court has for the most part contended for Liberty; and the people, I mean too great a part of them, have declared for slavery. Now, if ever we should come to be under a King who would sacrifice his Protestant Dissenting subjects to the
High-

High-Church clergy, we should quickly see whether the Liberties of a nation are most secure, when a considerable part of the people (who are their natural guardians) are resolved to defend, or determined to resign them. In the mean time, Sir, it must be acknowledged, to the immortal honour of the present King, that by endeavouring to secure the Dissenters from such a treatment in time to come, he is taking the most effectual method to immortalize Liberty.

Thus, Sir, have I acquainted you with the only motive of writing the chief of these Poems, which was the apprehension I had of the danger which the Liberties of my Country were in, and consequently the Liberties of the Christian world, of which ours are the strongest bulwark. I wrote them not then as one who espoused a party, but as a lover of my Country, and one zealous to promote the happiness of Great Britain. I have been so far from having any ambitious aims or any sordid views of interest, that I have been contented to see several of the public rewards engrossed by some who are luke-warm, and by others who are Jacobites in Whig cloathing, while I have remained very poor in a very advanced age. But one thing, indeed, I have sometimes been apt to think exceeding hard; and that is, that these luke-warm persons, and these Jacobites in Whig cloathing, should be suffered to make use of the power which they have acquired by their falshood, to the utter ruin
of

of one who has behaved himself all along with the utmost sincerity in the noblest cause of Liberty.

Thus, Sir, have I laid before you the motive which engaged me to write the greater part of the pieces which are contained in the two volumes. I shall now shew you, how the same motive obliged me to use my endeavours to preserve them, if they should appear worthy of it, and consequently to publish them in the two forementioned volumes. It was in October, 1716, that I desired a Bookseller to collect them for me. I thought that after so much time had passed since the writing them, I should be capable of forming as true a judgement myself of them, as any other person whatsoever, who has no better judgement in poetical matters than I have, or that the precept of HORACE, *nonnum prematur in annum*, must be false and vain.

Upon a very slow and deliberate perusal of them, I could not but conclude, that with all their faults they were not altogether deprived of that noble fire which alone can make them pleasing; nor of that justness and solidity which alone can make them lasting. I believed that, if they were published together, they might be able one day to do some good to the publick, and no discredit to me.

And I was the more encouraged to venture on this publication, because, Sir, you may be pleased to remember, that they had been favourably received by the most illustrious persons
of

of both parties for their judgement in Poetry, and their knowledge of the *Belles Lettres*, by the late Earls of GODOLPHIN and HALIFAX, Mr. MAYNWARING, and others among the Whigs; and by the present Duke of BUCKINGHAM, and my Lord LANSDOWN, among the Tories. And if any temptation could make me vain, it would be the favourable opinions of the last two noble persons, because, as their judgements in matters of Poetry are unquestioned, they can never be supposed to be partial to one who has all his life-time appeared very zealous in contrary principles to those of a party which they by some have been supposed to favour. My Lord LANSDOWN, by making me a present so noble as never has been made by a subject to any Author now living, sufficiently declared, that what I had written had not been altogether displeasing to him. And it is to the warm approbation which the Duke of BUCKINGHAM gave to the Poem "on the Battle of Blenheim," that I owe the honour of being first known to the late illustrious Earl of GODOLPHIN, whose good and great qualities, and the benefits which Great Britain received from his good and his wise administration, make me proud to own for the first and greatest of my benefactors.

Thus, Sir, I found encouragement to preserve these pieces, and especially the Poems written in the cause of Liberty. But I was convinced, at the same time, that the only way to preserve them would be to publish them together.

ther. They were in a great many different hands, and some of them in the hands of such who were mortal enemies to the cause in which they were written. Some of them had been very incorrectly printed. The very subject which ought to recommend them to all Englishmen, as well as the harmony without rhyme in several of the Poems, made some of them for the present less pleasing to above half the readers of Poetry. Some of them that had once appeared with applause seemed to have been forgotten. For all things of late days have been managed by cabal and party; and there seems to have been a conspiracy in the Commonwealth of Learning, among fools of all sorts, to exalt Folly at the expence of Common-sense, and make Stupidity triumph over Merit in the dominions of Wit; which has been one of the causes why things are reduced to that deplorable state upon our British Parnassus. APOLLO and the MUSES seem to have abandoned it; disdain- ing that their divinities should honour a place with their songs, where fools and pedants, buffoons, eunuchs, and tumblers, have so often met with applause.

Who could have thought, if he had been told twenty years ago that he should outlive Tragedy and Comedy, that he had been promised a life of not quite twenty years? Yet it is very plain, that the promise had extended no further; such is the power of cabal and party.

I have

I have all along had a great aversion to the making a party, or the entering into a cabal, and have sometimes looked upon it with horror, and sometimes with contempt. Who that has common sense can forbear laughing, when he sees a parcel of fellows who call themselves Wits, sit in combination round a coffee-table, as sharpers do round a hazard-table, to trick honest gentlemen into an approbation of their works, and bubble them of their understandings?

And yet I have all along known, that nothing in the greater Poetry can grow immediately popular without a cabal or party. I have a long time been convinced, that the more sublimely any thing is written in Poetry, and the nearer it comes to perfection, the longer it will be before it grows popular, without such a cabal; because the more sublimely it is written, and the nearer it comes to perfection, the more it is raised above the apprehensions of the vulgar. And yet, notwithstanding this knowledge, I have all along resolved to have no reputation, or to owe it to my writings.

Thus, Sir, you see the reasons why the writings that make up these two volumes, or at least the greater part of them, had been in danger of being lost, if I had not taken pains during my life-time to correct and publish them together. There is one more reason remaining, and that is, the malice of those people whom the world calls poets, whose hatred I have been

been proud to incur, by speaking bold and necessary truths in the behalf of a noble art, which they have miserably abused by their vile poems, and their more vile criticisms.

And yet it is from these people that the foolish readers of Poetry, which are nine parts in ten, take their opinions of Poets and their works, little believing, or once imagining, that these persons are of all mankind the very worst qualified to judge of their own art; as having neither the capacity nor the impartiality which are requisite for the judging truly: for it will be found, generally speaking, that Poets, Painters, and Musicians, are capacitated less than other men to judge of Poetry, Painting, and Musick. This, I must confess, may appear to some to be so bold a paradox, that I shall endeavour to make it out both by reason and authority, though I know very well, at the same time, that you can make no doubt of it. The generality of Poets, Painters, and Musicians, are such by the mere power of a warm imagination. And it is very rarely that a strong imagination and a penetrating judgement are found in the same subject. We need go no further than BOILEAU to hear that a celebrated Poet is often a contemptible judge:

*Tel excelle à rimer qui juge sottement,
Et tel s'est fait par ses vers distinguer par la ville,
Qui jamais du Lucain n'a distingué Virgile.*

As for what relates to Painters, I shall content myself with the citation of a remark from the ingenious and judicious Author of the "Observations upon FRESNOY's Art of Painting," translated by Mr. DRYDEN. It is the fiftieth remark upon these words of Mr. DRYDEN's translation, 'as being the sovereign judge of his own art.'

"This word, Sovereign Judge or Arbiter of his own Art, pre-supposes a Painter to be fully instructed in all the parts of Painting, so that, being set as it were above his art, he may be the master and sovereign of it, which is no easy matter. Those of that profession are so seldom endowed with that supreme capacity, that few of them arrive to be good judges of Painting: and I should many times make more account of their judgement who are men of sense, and yet have never touched a pencil, than of the opinions which are given by the greatest part of Painters. All Painters therefore may be called arbiters of their own art, but to be sovereign arbiters belongs only to knowing Painters."

What is said by this ingenious gentleman of Painters, is exactly true of Musicians; for which I have the opinion of more than one master among them; and as to the truth of this observation with relation to Poets, I have said enough above.

But as Poets are not capable, so neither are they impartial judges. I speak of those who are only rhimesters. For a great master is for the
the

the most part as impartial as he is knowing; but for the rest, the readers of Poetry would do well to consider, that if a mistress who is courted by a great many passionate rivals should ask any one of them his opinion of the rest, it is ten to one that he would prefer him most whom he esteemed least, and whom he believed least capable of getting that mistress from him.

Thus, Sir, have I acquainted you with the motive which obliged me to write the greater part of these treatises, and which afterwards engaged me to publish them in the two volumes, which you will receive with this. I hope I shall not be thought troublesome, if in a second letter I say something in particular of the pieces both in verse and prose. However, these two letters will convince you of the good opinion which I have a long time entertained both of your discernment and your impartiality.

I am, SIR,

Your most humble

and most obedient servant,

JOHN DENNIS.

THE CRISIS OF PROPERTY;

AN ARGUMENT, proving that the ANNUITANTS for Ninety-nine Years, as such, are not in the Condition of other Subjects of GREAT BRITAIN; but, by compact with the Legislature, are exempt from any new Direction relating to the said Estates.

By SIR RICHARD STEELE, KNIGHT,
Member of Parliament, and Governor of the Royal
Company of Comedians, &c.

“ Aliena negotia curat,
“ Excussus propriis *.”

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First published Feb. 1, 1719-20 †.

HAVING advertized this Work as soon as it was resolved upon, and that resolution being taken against an occasion very near approaching; I shall not, as I have seen people now and then do, make prefaces and lose time, because I am in haste, and have none to spare.

* “ ——— Other men’s affairs,
“ Now banish’d from my own, employ my cares.”

DUNCOMBE.

* “ And, to confess my failing as I ought,
“ A meddling humour ever was my fault.” NEVILLE.

† See the Theatre, pp. 78, 153, &c.

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Mr. HUTCHINSON, the most celebrated modern writer concerning the Public Funds, in his remarks, says thus :

“ As to the 99 years annuities which were granted in and before 1694, if the grantees and their assigns were to account in Chancery, as for mortgages redeemable on the repayment of the principal money with the interest of 6l. *per cent. per annum*, they would be found at this time to be overpaid about 30l. *per cent.* and would have that sum to repay, instead of receiving any thing : and therefore, if, besides this advantage, they can now sell for 1900l. or 2000l. what originally cost them but 1100, 1150, or 1200l. they have not made a disadvantageous bargain, since they hereby gain above *cent. per cent.* But those surely, who managed thus for the Publick, were far from being good stewards in this particular. It was certainly very ill-judged to incumber the nation with any debt that was not made redeemable by express condition ; and the longer the retrieving this imprudent step is delayed, it will be worse in all probability for the publick : for to the end of the Queen’s reign, the current price of these funds did not exceed 155,964l. the money which was originally advanced ; and in February, 1716-17 (the 99 years annuities being then 16 years purchase), the current price of these funds, one with another, did not exceed 1,067,642l. the money originally advanced ; and in March following, when the

scheme for redemption of the public funds was first opened, the 99 years annuities being at 17 years purchase, the value of the said funds was then 1,951,648*l.* more than the money originally advanced; but the time being then let slip for getting them subscribed, these funds are become an incumbrance on the nation of above two millions more; and if an act of Parliament, which was attempted last session, be obtained for reducing the national interest to 4*l. per cent. per annum*, before the said annuities are repurchased by the Publick, or an agreement made for the repurchase of the same, their value will be increased to the further sum of 3,582,500*l.* and then the same would be worth 7,997,689*l.* more than the money originally advanced, which would swell the value of these funds to the sum of 20,557,558*l.* But if the Parliament shall not be of opinion to repurchase these funds, then there will be no need to make mention of them in any future state of the public debts; and the nation is then to rest contented with the burden of those duties which are appropriated for raising the annual sum of 911,678*l.* until the expiration of the long term of years for which the same were granted."

If the majority of that honourable House, whereof the Author is a member, were of this opinion, and should act accordingly; farewell the wealth and honour of Great Britain.

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The general notion of mankind is, that the borrower is a servant to the lender; but this gentleman goes upon a supposition, that the borrower is the master of the lender; else would he not publish a notion against common faith and justice, without being aware that he proposes, as he does in plain terms, an expedient of depriving the friends of the government of the property which they have purchased of the Legislature, and the interest which is due to them for their money, which they have lent for its support.

It is necessary, before we go any further, to consider a little the nature of power, as it is exerted, that is to say, ought to be exerted amongst men, when we talk of a capacity of doing what this proposer intimates, for it would be far from lawful to do every thing which there is no law against doing. Although the last decision of a matter is made to rest upon one or many appointed for that end; yet the person or persons so appointed are nevertheless bound to do only what is honest, just, and reasonable. Thus power, in the last resort of it, is far from being arbitrary power, that is to say, arbitrary with an indifference to good and evil; but such persons so appointed are the more engaged to walk by the rules of humanity, good sense, and justice, from the consideration that their judgement is to be decisive: it is, therefore, something rash to imagine, that even a Legislature is to be justified in all

it should do, were it to act against the known sense of mankind, and against the nature of things. Good and evil are in themselves unchangeable; nor can time, place, person, or any other circumstance, alter the nature of them; for though never so great a crowd, never so solemn or awful an assembly should pronounce a thing, in itself unrighteous, to be just and equitable, it would still retain its natural deformity, and be exactly what it was before it received the vain sanction of their formalities.

The Author says, if the grantees and their assigns were to account in Chancery, as for mortgages redeemable on the repayment of principal money, they would be found to be overpaid. This is a very unapt similitude! Relief in Chancery is always founded upon an artifice, a breach of faith, an involuntary act, incapacity of acting, or some instance of falsehood or cruelty complained of by the plaintiff against the defendant; but a Legislature cannot be supposed to be surpris'd into what it does by the artifice, by the power, or any other superiority of its own subjects, to ensnare or circumvent it; it is therefore strange want of reflexion to suppose or imagine that men, when they borrow, shall be credited like just Senators and able Legislators; but, when they are to repay, are to be relieved like circumvented bubbles or foolish children. The seeming popular and plausible argument for supporting men who
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think no further than this, is, that the estates of these creditors are now worth, and will bring, more money than they cost, and therefore the possessors of them are to be considered and treated like usurers and extortioners; though this is fully answered already in only saying, as we have just now, that this bargain was made by a greater, wiser, and more powerful party, with an inferior, invited into the contract by the said party, and, consequently, that there can be none of those pretensions which entitle to an equity of redemption from the said bargain: I say, though the very mention of this circumstance of the respective persons engaged is enough to destroy all thoughts of a repeal, yet we will have the patience to proceed to further arguments.

To make a man come under the odious imputations of usury and extortion, it is necessary to prove, that, without any hazard to himself, he demanded from his debtor more than the lawful interest for his money; but, in this case, the interest could not be unlawful, for the bargain was made with Law-givers, his money could not be secure, for it was lent to the State itself in danger of ruin.

The cause was thus: The State of England, lately rescued from imminent danger of falling under lawless and arbitrary power, divided in itself by factions at home, and engaged in a war with a much more powerful enemy than itself would be, though united, abroad, in the

utmost distraction and terror from the opposition made by its own subjects to the necessary means of defence, and the increasing hazards from the preparations of its foreign foes, enacts by its Legislature, that such who will lend money under these disadvantages shall have such terms for the loan of it.

These lenders saw the condition of the borrowers, knew they had not security but from the hopes that the debtors condition would grow better by their money, and, from the zeal and affection to such borrowers, parted with their fortunes.

Shall then these men, or their assigns, the members of that Parliament, or their successors in this, have to do with one another upon any other terms than to ratify the friendship between them, and, for an example to all succeeding generations, secure the right of the benefactors, with all the power, interest, and fortune, of those who received the benefit?

It is a known case, that, in the insurance of a vessel from the common hazards of the sea, the owners can pretend to no remedy against whatever they may have contracted to give above the common interest of money, upon the return of the ship into port: it would, in such a case, be frivolous and unjust to dispute the payment on account of fair weather, sailing before the wind with a most prosperous gale, and the premises insured having met with no man-

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ner of danger or difficulty through the whole voyage. For the insurers would answer: Who could foresee this? Had you sunk, we must have lost our money; and, because it has happened just as you gave money to be sure it should happen, you have the modesty to desire your money again, because they, who were to bear all your adversity, demand to have some share in your prosperity.

I defy any man breathing to make the case of those who purchased these annuities less meritorious than the insurers of a vessel going to sea, who are to lose all, if the ship is cast away, and receive but the share which they agreed for, in case of a safe return,

These men are not usurers, are not extortioners; they are good citizens; they are patriots; they lent their country money, because they loved their country; they stepped out of their ranks, as the *forlorn hope of property*, in defence of the land of England and its owners, which owners had been safe and secure in their possessions, whatever had befallen these generous insurers, whose fortunes fought for them. But it is urged, that in such a year they were worth so much, in such a year so much, and now worth more than they gave for them, though so many years, in which they have enjoyed them, are run out.

If this be a plea against an absolute bargain, let the buildings all around us, erected upon
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late wastes and pastures, stand still. He who makes more of his estate than the person did who sold it him, shall account in Chancery for all above the legal interest of the purchase-money.

At the first sight it appears, from the very nature of credit, that it is utterly destroyed when the borrower pretends to intermeddle with what is lent, but by the command or approbation of the lender; and if the borrower pretends to make himself judge of what is proper for the lender to receive when he has enough, or in any degree *modify, manage, abate, or alter the terms* upon which he has it, he becomes master, that is, possessor and *usurper* of such the property of the lender. This is certainly the practice, the common sense, the obvious rule and measure of life, wherever there is human nature; and calculations, remarks, and proposals of entire discharges of national debts and incumbrances, against this plain law of reason, are only chiméras, crudities, and extravagances.

Can a man be supposed to have placed his money safely, or to be ready to lend it to the hands that publicly and shamelessly profess themselves not bound to their articles, proposed, drawn, signed, and executed by themselves?

No! Reason and justice are ever the same, and, in spite of passions, changes, and animosities, are fearless and impassive; and whoever does
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does the injury, it is still an injury aggravated when it comes from them that should be guardians against it.

But some will say, shall any part of the subjects of England be exempt and excluded from her laws? Shall any estates, any *manner of tenure, cease to be under the guidance of the Legislature?* Yes, all that the Legislature has stipulated to be so. This is far from disparagement done to that awful Power; it is respect, it is religion towards it; and, if I may compare that to what only it is below, I can say it, without diminution to its power, when I can say, in the same breath, that the Omnipotent can do no evil.

An argument of this kind, wherein the very being, honour, and safety, of one's country is concerned, raises indignation above what would naturally arise from an unwary, well-meant assertion; but the circumstance of place, as nearer or farther off the center of power, makes a thing considerable or inconsiderable: where a man has a right of being heard among law-givers, experience shews, that such a right, exerted with spirit, though with less force than this gentleman can give it, has prevailed in a fatal degree in the greatest concerns.

This attempt of unsettling what has been made irrevocable and absolute, will appear to every man's observation in the colour it ought, from a late circumstance, wherein the sanction is as sacred and immutable, from the right of
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the thing, as if it had been done by the British Legislature; the thing of which I would remind my reader in this place, is the loan given to the Emperor of Germany, under a great distress of his affairs, upon the lands of Silesia.

Will any man say, that when the Emperor had rescued himself from the difficulties he was in when he borrowed this money, he was then at liberty to lower the advantages arising from their common success, owing to the zealous and voluntary hazard of the lenders?

If it be true, that the Emperor was still as much obliged as before, though to whom he had no relation but as lenders, how much more must Government be tied down to a bargain made with these who have a right to protection in their property, as well with that regard as all other considerations? If the Emperor is indispensably obliged to protect and pay the creditors, as much as if there was the relation between them of Sovereign and Subject, and to pay Englishmen as punctually as he ought to have Silesians, by the same force of reason a nation that borrows of its own subjects, as to the circumstance of debtor and creditor, has thrown off the sovereignty, and the Parliament of England has no other power over these Annuitants than if the purchase had been made by the people of Silesia.

The owners therefore of this property, who stepped out of the rank of common subjects, with their
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their fortunes in their hands, and gave them to the faith of the Legislature, are exempt from any act of Legislature, by all the rules of honour, justice, and equity, but as they are our friends and allies. If men say, that all other professions of property in these realms sigh under large and heavy debts; the answer is obvious, that their creditors have, during a long and expensive war, been in a worse condition to render such proprietors safe, in whatever they have wherewith to pay them.

If I talk reasonably in this, the proposal favoured by some unskilful patriots amounts to this; that we are to save money by the loss of the nation; and this attempt, were it to be brought into an act, might with the same justice affect any other of the subjects of these realms, nay a whole nation, which not many years ago united itself to us. Any thing given in equivalent to Scotland, for resigning its separate Constitution, may as well be stopt and denied to them as new terms imposed upon these Annuitants; but it is not to be doubted, but that the legislature will be full as tender of trespassing against the right of these Annuitants, as they have been of titles derivative only from the royal favour; since, with all other the most prevalent reasons, they have also that which saved the English grants, the consideration of families, who claim under them, to secure them from revocation. Those grantees had a
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right founded on mere grace and favour, not always obtained by merit or service; the Annuitants have nothing but what they have purchased for valuable considerations, and their property lent with hazard and uncertainty.

Thus the injustice of this attempt appears from the nature of things; and I think it is easy to prove also the folly of it. For, according to my notion of credit, whatever power gives occasion of distrust of safety to the creditor, must of necessity become bankrupt; and who can raise a greater cause of suspicion, than they who assert, that the right and disposal of any part of what they have borrowed is yet in themselves?

After this declaration, who could be confident that their money is as safe with such dealers as in their own pockets? And when it is otherwise, there is an end of credit.

The plain word *credit* carries with it every thing that is valuable amongst men; the nations all around us have lost it; but let us open our eyes, and extend a little our faculties from the prejudice which particular education and circumstances of life may have wrought upon us, and we shall find, that not only ease, conveniency, safety, but pomp, glory, and all the distinctions of life, are wrapt up in it; and when this is lost, the landed men will be impoverished, and the soldier disarmed, as certainly as the merchant is beggared.

But I shall trouble my great, learned, and powerful adversaries on this head no longer, but change their opponent from a poor, cheap (but not mercenary) scribbler, to that of the most renowned of authors. It is in vain to oppose authority but with as great authority; and I forget all this is supported by a novice in these things against a writer that has long made the consideration of credit his business. Let therefore the success of this dispute concerning credit turn upon the personal characters of ARCHIBALD HUTCHINSON, Esq. member for Hastings, and that of Sir RICHARD STEELE, Knight, member for Burrowbrig. But let the latter call to his assistance a more suitable adversary, and lay it upon the reputations of ARCHIBALD HUTCHINSON, member for Hastings, and MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, Consul of Rome. The last named of these three great men arguing that no advantage imaginable can be an equivalent for loss of public credit, and, like an able and true statesman, above shifts and managements, maintaining that nothing which is dishonourable to a Commonwealth can be gainful to it, mentions a stupid and impudent expedient for raising money to the Publick, by breaking a contract made by one of their generals. The passage is in the third book of the OFFICES, which, by the way, if I had never read, I had been at this hour what they call a Plumb.

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“ If,” says he, “ Money is gotten without regard to the means of doing it, the Publick will find themselves in the end no gainers, for nothing can be profit that is purchased with infamy. What then shall we say of the project of LUCIUS PHILIPPUS, who moved in the Senate, that those cities who had bought Roman Liberty from SYLLA, should still be tributary, with returning them their money, with which they had purchased it? The Senate, to the shame of all government, consented to the expedient: the natural consequence of which was, that they lost their credit; and the faith of pirates was, from that moment, more to be depended upon, than that of the Senate of Rome.”

All this I argue against the remarks of my worthy fellow-labourer, Mr. HUTCHINSON, who aims at the same end by different means; and I cannot but declare, at the same time, I believe that gentleman as disinterestedly zealous for the public good as any man in England; and I must own further, that I know he has of his side as eminent men as any in this kingdom; and yet, after all, I must presume to say, with great deference to him and them, that, in cases of this sort, I acknowledge no authority but that of reason and justice.

Reason and justice, it will be answered, will still be done to these Annuitants, because there is nothing expected from them but what is voluntary;

luntary; but when a superior power talks to an inferior, even in the style of invitation, it has the air and effect, in common acceptation, of a command; but the readiest way of coming at the true nature of this affair, is to read over the enacting words, by which these estates, for this term, were vested in the purchasers by Parliament. They import, "That for the consideration-money (which is the very term used in this law) either natives or foreigners may pay into the Exchequer any sum, or sums of money, for purchasing annuities for ninety-nine years, commencing from the 25th day of March, 1704; and that they shall be paid out of the Excise."

This is as absolute a purchase as can be made, and the matter is involved for the common security of natives and foreigners; for, *quoad hoc*, foreigners become natives, and natives foreigners. And, if you offer to meddle with them, you will be asked by natives, if we were to be affected in this possession any way hereafter, but by you becoming bankrupt; "Why did not you tell us, when you took our money, we lent it because we loved our country, and were willing to hazard with you?" Foreigners will answer, "We were strangers, and had no ties of friendship, but thought of honest gain from honest men."

I repeat it, that these persons are purchasers for a valuable consideration, and that in the

most absolute terms imaginable, for which reason I have and do aver, that the Parliament has no further to do with them than if the purchasers were of another nation. It is the essence of a contract, that the contractors should keep the agreement without fraud or force. And, in this case, as in all others, the borrower is a dependent on the lender, and the lender on the borrower. Thus the greater power that the one party has in other circumstances, the more is that party obliged to keep the obligation inviolable; because the weaker, who puts himself in the power of the stronger, has justice more forcibly on his side, from the merit of that confidence. In a word, two contractors always understand each other to be, and covenant to be, equals, and never to use any advantages for evasion; and I appeal to all the world, whether they think these annuitants would have purchased under a reservation, that forty years after the publick should have an equity of redemption; but the purchasers should refuse what should then be called full satisfaction, or keep their estates in their own hands. The mention of this at the time of making of this sale would have broke the bargain, and therefore it is not supportable by the rules of honesty to mention it now, and to subject their fortunes to the imaginary and changeable condition which moneyers put upon the intrinsic value of the money lent on the rest of

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the public securities *: for, though the annuitants may keep their yearly income, notwithstanding the noise and importunity about them, yet, from this clamour, the sale of an annuity will be at an higher or lower value, if the circumstances of the owner should require him to sell it.

I shall forbear many assertions, which I hope to have opportunity to speak to upon another occasion, or in this way again. But I fear a fit of the gout, caused by open oppression, and rigid justice from certain *wanton and forgetful men called Courtiers* †, will disable me, if I do not discontinue my present attention. If I can suffer with resolution a little longer out of a sick-bed, I will shew some half-politicians that they know nothing of what they are doing; and though, according to my duty, and liturgy of the Church, I am bound to pray to give them understanding, I shall not neglect to use also all humane means to inform them, that the best friends of the government are not to be marked out for punishment and disgrace, or ruin, because unexperienced men do not know how to support power by humane and social qualities, soft steps, and skilful insinuations, but by down-

* In the THEATRE, N^o XX. STEELE predicted, March 8, 1719-20, that the South-Sea Stock would rise to 300 *per cent*. On the 16th of April we actually find it at the enormous price of 350.

† See THEATRE, N^o VII. & seqq.

right brutal force and violence. Whenever their fortune shall be changed, I shall pity them, as well knowing disgrace is a hard suffering even *with* integrity. I shall continue in the mean time to endeavour to prevent their hurting their master with innocent and zealous men who love him, who may not have the moderation to distinguish and consider, that none are acts of the king but acts of favour. These slight creatures, with their usual insensibility, may call this plain dealing with them folly and extravagance, as indeed it would be, if I thought it would reform them; no, I mean only to explain, and admonish them. They are to me wicked men; but that must not transport me to say, they are to the rest of the world any other than only weak ones, so shall end this argument, which I am ready to support, *viva voce*, against all gainsayers, that the Annuitants are no objects of the Legislative Power of Great Britain for their protection, in order to be well and faithfully paid the income of the money which Great Britain has received of them, and is a rent charge on the revenues of the kingdom. They who think otherwise on this subject, I shall have an opportunity of proving to think like cashiers and stock-jobbers, and not like wise men and politicians.

A NATION A FAMILY:
BEING THE SEQUEL OF
THE CRISIS OF PROPERTY;

OR,
A PLAN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE
SOUTH-SEA PROPOSAL.

BY SIR RICHARD STEELE, KNIGHT,
MEMBER OF PALIAMENT.

First published Feb. 27, 1719-20*.

TO

SIR JOHN FELLOWS,

SUB-GOVERNOR OF THE SOUTH-SEA COMPANY.

SIR,

I PRESUME to offer you the following
Treatise, though it is written in some sort of
opposition to the proposal of the Sub-governor,

* See Theatre, N° XX.

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Deputy-governor, and Company trading to the South-Seas, since, at the same time, it is a Defence of the Governor of the said Company, and all the people under his dominions. I depend therefore upon it, that your Excellency will be so gracious as to allow me to offer to you what I humbly conceive is more gainful and more proper for you to have than what you ask. If I make this out, it will be for your service; if I do not, it will only be for your diversion. I assure you, it is writ with a true zeal and spirit of good-will to all fair traders, who are, in my opinion, the most honourable, because the most useful of men to this state. Without them, we are confined within a narrow tract, productive only of necessaries; with them, the whole earth, and all its fruits, are within our reach, for the supply of our pleasures, as well as our wants. If this plan should be approved, you will find I *write in* to you more than you offer the Government for your bargain, without any other hopes than that of manifesting myself a true Lover of my Country, on which merit you will allow me the honour of being,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

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O F T H E
C R I S I S O F P R O P E R T Y.

WHAT has been already said was offered in support of an assertion, That the Annuitants for terms of years are purchasers from, not creditors to, the Publick : the Legislature has absolutely sold to them those estates for those terms ; and the Parliament has nothing further to do in this case, but to protect the owners, and pay them punctually and honestly. The Annuitants, it is said, are not to be forced to part with their estates ; but there are, indeed, persons who will give millions, if they may be allowed to purchase them : nay, if they should not succeed in the solicitation or invitation of such owners, they will pay a certain sum of money, that is, several hundred thousand pounds, for the convenience and allowance of making the attempt : but all this while the Annuitants are to do nothing but what they shall think fit, and are to be wholly volun-

teers in this action; if they are to be such, and no compulsion put upon them, to what end do the proposers to purchase apply to the Legislature? Their power, it seems, is to have no effect towards making the bargain cheaper; if so, why do they not purchase of these men now, that can do what they please with their own, without the intervention of Parliament, which Parliament is still to leave them to do what they please with their own?

Are not men willing to do what they please with their own, till they are permitted to be willing by the act and will of the Parliament? We have heard that in former times men were sent to by messengers to be willing, or else to be *forced* to *voluntary* contribution; but I think there was one Mr. HAMPDEN, in Buckinghamshire, declared, “ he was not willing to do any thing against his will; and by that means preserved every man’s property to be disposed according to his own will.

But I take the liberty to say, that when the Parliament has done this (I speak it before it has done so) they will have given up their own credit, and sold it, according to my poor understanding, for a sum of money, to those whom they shall have encouraged to be purchasers. And I am, if not humbly, yet from the force of truth and right reason boldly, of opinion, that such a step would hurt this kingdom, as it is a kingdom, a nation, a commonwealth, much more

more in its true interest and credit, than the price of all the annuities would balance and make up to us. Will any man living look stedfastly at another, and affirm, that he believes, after this is done, parliamentary credit will be to all intents and purposes as good as it was before? If men in a prosperous condition, and in reasonable expectation of the continuance of it, shall shew an uneasiness, that those who contributed to such their success, and must have been undone, if it had happened otherwise, should have, in proportion, a superior share in the public good, they must never expect more to be supplied in their exigence. If you, in your wants, will make a bargain for a supply, and when you are at ease dispute, or haggle, to change the conditions for your further ease, take care to want no more, or be contented to want for ever. But we are amused by words, and, according as meer sounds strike the imagination, we are carried into most destructive resolutions; we play with the words *redeemable* and *irredeemable*, when we should understand the quite contrary of what we do by those terms.

That is called *redeemable*, from which we are in some degree relieved, while we are yet speaking, and know when it must certainly end. That is called *irredeemable*, which, till measures are taken to discharge, can never be redeemed. Time releases one as fast as it passes away; the
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other, till put into a way of satisfaction, must last till time shall be no more.

Is not that family in a better condition, a part of whose estate is charged with an annuity for twenty years to come, after which that part is to revert to the father and his heirs, than the house who owes such a debt, but lives paying the interest, and at the end of twenty years has the whole principal to pay? Would not a young gentleman be in a better condition, whose mother should keep a jointure from him five-and-twenty years, of 500*l.* a year, than if his estate was charged with 10,000*l.* and he were to pay interest, instead of the jointure, for the 10,000*l.* for twenty-five years, and then should have the whole to pay? Prejudices run too strongly to admit me the liberty of saying what a gentleman at the Chop-house said the other day, "that the *irredeemables* are so far from being a grievance, that it would be the cheapest way, and best management, to turn all the debts into annuities for certain terms of years." I readily consented to him; for, thought I, when *Time* is the paymaster, the weight grows less, according to the force and duration of the body encumbered. The Body Politic is supposed immortal, and, consequently the point of time, as it affects that and a single person, bears not the proportion of an hour to a year. The crowds who think another way, headed by eminent persons who think this way, but will not act
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accordingly, will be too impatient, at this very hint, to bear any more to be said upon it. They will not give me leave to shew how apparently it is the interest of a state, which is to live for ever, and may possibly find safety and convenience from having easy creditors depend upon it. I say, they will not endure, under their present prepossessions, so much as the mention of such an expedient; and therefore I shall not now offer to reason further, from the difference between the case of the Publick, and that of a private person, that giving ten *per cent.* by the community, principal and interest, to end at almost any distant time, is a better bargain than five given, and principal and interest stand out a debt till repaid.

When I have repeated, that *Time* is the best pay-master from the State, I shall go on to explain a scheme of my own, which turns upon the lives of individuals, and makes the mortality and decay of particulars the foundation of new life and strength to the whole: and this is the mutual advantage of the private and publick, but the greater good to the latter. This scheme has already been spoken of, where I would not knowingly offer improper things.

I go on to communicate it, as having already suffered the worst I can on that account, in having it hitherto passed unconsidered by those only who can make it practicable. I shall adventure it this way to further notice; and whatever becomes of it, I have done my duty.

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What I do, and have offered, is in the following form, but with the addition of a calculation made upon it :

A NATION A FAMILY.

True policy requires, that the Government should be rich, the people in moderate, safe, and comfortable circumstances: this is far from being our condition; for the publick is loaded with debts, and the generality of the people extremely necessitous; while private persons, to the disadvantage of the whole community, are immoderately rich, and every day growing richer by artificial rumours, whereby self-interested men affect the Publick Funds, and act upon the hopes and fears of the people, for their own gain, though to the apparent hazard of their country. In order, therefore, to make the King the Father of his People, and unite their interests by an inseparable advantage, and that mutual, let it be provided, that the public debts be converted into annuities for life, equally advantageous to every individual person, and to all persons, of what degree, or quality, or circumstance soever; to wit, that the purchasers be divided in classes of ten persons in a class; and, upon payment of the consideration-money, receive Indentures or Tickets, promising the payment of an annuity of ten *per cent.* to each Annuitant, and their nine successors,

fors, being themselves the same persons, each leading, ending, and named, in each part of one or other Ticket; by which means each ten pounds will purchase the annual value at ten *per cent.* and possibly, by survivorship, ten pounds a year for life. To make this evident to the meanest capacity, ten such Indentures, with the names diversified according to this design, are as follow :

In consideration of the sums received from each of the underwritten persons,

This First Ticket entitles First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth, to the annual sum of ; according to the order in which they are named, and the rule of survivorship, till the death of the longest liver of them.

This Second Ticket entitles Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and First, to, &c.

This Third Ticket entitles Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, First, and Second, to, &c.

This Fourth Ticket entitles Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, First, Second, and Third, to, &c.

This Fifth Ticket entitles Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, First, Second, Third, and Fourth, to, &c.

This

This Sixth Ticket entitles Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth, to, &c.

This Seventh Ticket entitles Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth, to, &c.

This Eighth Ticket entitles Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh, to, &c.

This Ninth Ticket entitles Ninth, Tenth, First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth, to, &c.

This Tenth Ticket entitles Tenth, First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth, to, &c.

To explain it further, I shall call it a SCHEME to raise four millions Sterling by forty thousand Persons, at one hundred Pounds each; these Persons to be joined or united into distinct Classes, of ten in a class, which will be four thousand Classes, each class raising one thousand Pounds.

Secondly, This Sum to be paid either in Tallies, Lottery-Tickets, or any Debts of Annuities, Parliamentary Funds, or in Money itself, in order to add the said four Millions, as Principal or Capital to the Stock of the South-Sea Company. These four Millions shall be repaid in the manner and form following :

Each

Each class (as above) consisting of ten persons, proprietors in one thousand pounds share in the stock, shall receive annually ten pounds *per cent.* of the Company, which is one hundred pounds yearly, during the lives of these ten persons, the thousand pounds being sunk in the said Company; but with this restriction, that, on the death of any person in a class, notice shall be given to the said Company, who shall not that year pay the hundred pounds to the survivors, but reserve it for the use and advantage of the Company; but the next year the hundred pounds shall be paid to the surviving nine, and so on as they die: on the death of each one that year shall be a stop to the payment, but the year after the survivors shall receive the whole hundred pounds, to divide amongst them; so that at last the longest liver shall receive, during life, one hundred pounds *per annum*, for his hundred pounds in the class; a profit greater than can be any other way gained by money out of trade, and calculated to fall in with the circumstances (as to part of their substance) of all owners of property.

The advantage to the Company will be this: they will be supplied with money to trade with; the ten pounds *per cent.* can never be fully paid, by reason of the deaths of single persons, which will yearly occasion several abatements; for as in the several classes there will be forty thousand people, of which we may rationally suppose
that

that but few, if any, will be alive sixty years hence, and should all die in that time, their payments will wholly cease; and should all die in sixty years, then proportionably to forty thousand in sixty years, it is six hundred sixty-six each year of the sixty, and forty remain alive at the sixty years end.

Accordingly for the classes being extinct; four thousand classes to be extinct in sixty years, if they die proportionably one year with another, then there will be sixty-six classes every year extinct, and forty classes remain to survive the sixty years; if it so happen, then there will be yearly, on the deaths of single people, six hundred sixty-six pounds paid less than the ten pounds *per cent.* and on the extinction of classes each year, there will be sixty-six, that is, so many hundred pounds of the principal paid off, thus continuing till the whole is cleared.

Before we enter on the advantage this scheme will be to the nation, in order to the clearing its debts, let us first calculate the whole as debtor and creditor, in order to its being demonstrated more plainly.

And here I must take for granted, that the South-Sea Company doth employ these four millions in trade, and the profit of this trade must be at least seven *per cent.* or otherwise they could not support the proposal they have made the House of Commons; therefore I shall calculate the four millions in a way of trade to bring in yearly two hundred and eighty thousand pounds.

THE CRISIS OF PROPERTY. 561

The CALCULATION.

The Tax annexed to those Funds which are annexed to the four Millions proposed

Is now at five <i>per cent.</i>	200,000	Due to four millions at 10 <i>per cent.</i>	400,000
		Deduct by deaths and ext. of classes	7,266
The profit of trading	280,000	Really paid but	392,734
		Deduct by death of single persons	666
Really paid	392,734	Deduct by classes extinct	6,600
First year, stock increased to	87,266	Total	7,266
To which add tax and profit	480,000	Second year abated of the By extinct of classes and death of persons	400,000 13,866
Total	567,266	Really paid but	386,134
Really paid but	386,134	Third year abated by deaths and classes extinct	400,000 20,466
Second year, stock increased to	181,132	Total	661,132
To which add yearly tax and profit.	480,000	Really paid but	379,534
Total	661,132	Fourth year deduct deaths and classes extinct	400,000 27,066
What really paid	379,534	Total	761,598
Third year, stock increased to	281,598	Deduct what really paid	372,334
To which add yearly tax and profit	480,000	Really paid	372,934
Total	761,598	Fifth year deduct deaths and extinct classes	400,000 33,666
Fourth year, stock increased to	388,664	Total	968,664
Tax and profit added	480,000	Deduct what really paid	366,334
Total	968,664	Really paid	366,334

O c

Fifth

Fifth year, stock increased to	602,330	Sixth year deduct deaths and extinct classes	400,000
Tax and profit added	480,000		40,266
Total	1,082,330		
Deduct what really paid	359,734	Really paid	359,734
Sixth year, stock increased	622,596	Seventh year deduct deaths, &c.	46,000
Taxes and profit	480,000		
Total	1,102,596	Really paid	353,134
Deduct what paid	353,134		
Seventh year in stock	749,462	Eighth year deduct deaths, &c.	400,000
Taxes and profit	480,000		53,466
Total	1,229,462	Really paid	346,534
Deduct what paid	346,534		
Eighth year in stock	882,928	Ninth year deduct deaths, &c.	400,000
Tax and profit added	480,000		60,066
Total	1,362,928	Really paid	339,934
Deduct what paid	339,934		
Ninth year in stock	1,022,994	Tenth year deduct deaths, &c.	400,000
Add tax and profit	480,000		66,666
Total	1,502,994	Really paid	333,334
Deduct what paid	333,334		
Tenth year in stock	1,169,660	Eleventh year deduct deaths, &c.	400,000
Add Tax and profit	480,000		73,266
Total	1,649,660	Really paid	326,734
Deduct what paid	326,734		
Eleventh year in stock	1,322,926	Twelfth year deduct deaths, &c.	400,000
Add tax and profit	480,000		79,866
Total	1,802,926	Really paid	320,134
Deduct what paid	320,134		
Twelfth year in stock	1,482,792	Thirteenth year deduct deaths, &c.	400,000
Add tax and profit	480,000		86,466
Total	1,962,792	Really paid	313,534
Deduct what paid	313,534		
Thirteenth year in stock	1,649,258	Fourteenth year deduct deaths, &c.	400,000
By tax and profit add	480,000		93,066
Total	2,129,258	Really paid	306,934
Deduct what paid	306,934		
Fourteenth year in stock	1,822,324		
To which add principal stock	4,000,000		
Total	5,822,324		

Should

Should the Company say they cannot be sure to make seven *per cent.* profit by trade, I then repeat, they are not able to perform what they have offered to the Honourable House of Commons; therefore it is reasonable to suppose that is the least profit they propose to make. Which if so,

Then as their stock is increased near half, and their payments abated near one quarter, surely then those taxes which now are appropriated to pay the five *per cent.* interest for this four millions may very well cease; for, if trading with four millions, and the two hundred thousand pounds yearly, can pay ten *per cent.* for four millions, as it is apparent by this they can; then certainly trading with five millions, eight hundred and twenty-two thousand three hundred and twenty-four pounds, can pay the interest of three millions at ten *per cent.* especially since the stock yearly increases, and the payments yearly lessen.

Should any object that it is probable, the persons may neither die so fast, or the classes be extinct so fast as I have computed; I answer, it is more likely they should die faster, and the classes be extinct faster than slower; for it is more rational to suppose, that six hundred sixty-six people should die in one year out of forty thousand, than out of half that number, and sixty-six classes be extinct out of four thousand, than out of two thousand.

Which if so, then their payments will lessen faster than I have supposed, and of consequence the better for the Company.

As to the *national* advantage this way, if four millions are so raised yearly, and so paid, eight years time will bring all in, and in sixty-eight years all will be paid, both principal and interest, and at fourteen years end the taxes for four millions will cease, and fifteen years for four millions more, and in less than twenty-four years all our present taxes settled to pay the interest of thirty-two millions will be wholly at an end; whereas by the new proposals of the South-Sea Company our debts are only transferred, and not paid, only after 1724 the interest of all will be but three pounds *per cent.*

To conclude, it would be entirely needless for the Parliament to interfere with the Annuitant's future bargain with the South-Sea, if they are to be altogether in the same condition, after the bill passes, in which they now are, and not to receive the least disadvantage from any distant influence of the intended act.

The South-Sea must design some advantage to themselves by their proposal to the Parliament, otherwise they would not be at such an *expensive* zeal in soliciting its acceptance. And if they aim at profit to themselves by it, whence must it arise? Must it not proceed from such art and dexterity in the turning of stocks and money as may deceive the present national Creditors

ditors, the Annuitants, and deprive them in some measure of the advantage of their bargain? If this be not their view, what else can it be? Do they grasp at something more terrible, the monopoly of trade, and impoverishment of the nation? If they have in view neither of these designs, *viz.* to injure some who are wards of the Government, and by that means taint parliamentary credit, or to ruin and starve the bulk of the nation by engrossing trade, or to build their proposed advantage upon any scheme destructive of the public good, we must allow, according to a late Author, they will shew more virtue and integrity than those, who shall put such designs in their power to execute, shall discover wisdom or prudence. Let me add, if they can afford the great sums they offer, without any indirect design, much more able will they be by fair trading to execute what we propose. According to our scheme, their trade will advance by safe, and as expeditious steps, as the nature of the thing will allow; according to their way of taking all at once, it is impossible to dispose of their stock in trade alone, which is the only fair way by which they can comply with their bargain. Besides this, let it be well considered also, that in their way they part with vast sums of ready money, when they take upon them this prodigious and sudden enterprize.

Whoever shall duly attend to this discourse, will find, that with all its incorrecness and

imperfections (much of which may be owing to many other avocations and cares), it answers its title of A NATION A FAMILY. Considering a nation as such, the great bargain of ten years purchase, for the lives of ten thus allied, is like a careful provision for the elder children, and the whole house made stronger and wealthier, while any one of them lives by the loss of any of its kindred.

It will make the Father of the Family still more powerful; and, to explain that word yet further, the Sovereign more popular, more great, and more safe; and that popularity, greatness, and safety, incorporated with the happiness of his people, and conducing to it.

It preserves the superintendency, guardianship, and by consequence the credit, of the Legislature, and ties the whole people, their lawgivers, and governors, by a band (which only can join the great and little, good and bad men together); their common interest. I had quite forgot to intimate that I propose these future Annuitants are to be paid by the Company, in correspondence with the *Exchequer*.

I hope people will consider this matter without prejudice, and (forgetting that ISAAC BICKERSTAFFE, the ridiculous Censor, says it) seriously enquire whether any sum can be given for the loss of the opinion in mankind, that a *parliamentary engagement is unalterable*.

Believe (though it be only NESTOR IRON-SIDE, the imaginary Guardian, who tells you
I so),

fo), that no price can balance the loss of a belief, *that what the Parliament has sold, can never be redeemed, but at the request of the owner.*

Believe (since you have it from MARMADUKE MYRTLE, *the true and faithful Lover*), that *the price of the Lady CARONA CREDIT is far above rubies.*

P A S Q U I N, N° XLVI.

TUESDAY, July 9, 1723.

Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.

HOR. 1^o Ep. xvi. 62.

“ With a veil

“ Of Darknefs and of Night my crimes conceal.

FRANCIS.

I Shall not make any Apology for inserting a Letter which comes from so famous a name as ILLINGTON, to one who so zealously pursues renown as the TRUE BRITON; but give it the Reader just as it comes to my hands; solemnly protesting that I had it not from any of the Clerks of the Post-office, nor does it need passing through the hands of Decipherers.

To the TRUE BRITON*.

Your unexpected zeal for me has infinitely obliged me, and demands all the returns of good offices that are in my power. There is a spirit in your style, which is worthy the party you have now chosen; but has a little of youth and inconsideration, which I fear may hurt you,

* The Duke of Wharton was the writer of “ The True Briton.”

and

and consequently hurt the cause. You stand loose, indeed, and free from attachments, or prejudices, or fears, or hopes; but give me leave to advise you to a little more circumspection, which is necessary in all great designs, which are not to be carried on without method and a preservation of appearances. MACHIAVEL, in his excellent “Book of Ethicks for Great Men,” says, “It is necessary to seem pious, but an offence to be so.” This admirable rule, my dear Lord, you are too young, and have too much fire in your temper, to keep to; for though you may dispense with yourself as to all the maxims the lower world are governed by, and not let them at all affect you, or your life; yet you are to consider, when you are to make impressions upon men, that you are to seem moved by the same principles as move them. Thus, though an abandoned man may have all the arguments which are used by a good man, they will not be so useful, because of the imperfection of his character. And therefore I would advise your Lordship to put into your character Hypocrisy; for it is a very great mistake to imagine, because you can speak readily upon any argument, that therefore you shall prevail; nay, you will find it by certain experience, that the world minds more *who says a thing*, than *what is said*: for which reason, I take the liberty to advise, that if you would have what you say regarded, you should not be so sincerely wicked. I cannot but ex-

cessively

cessively applaud your insinuation, of **TIBERIUS** at Caprea; I mean, I applaud it as a bold stroke: but then it wants every other requisite to make it fix where you mean it; for **CATO** and **CATILINE** can never be alike, only because they are both gone out of town, and agree in nothing else but that circumstance. Now you did not consider, when you said this, any thing else but your own temper, and the exerting your anger without guard, which made you do it without effect. For this reason, I would inculcate to you to be less sincere.

There is another art, which a man who would succeed in the world must be master of, which is the art of prevarication; that is, a way of seeming to speak the truth, but keeping a reserve in your own heart, as if you had said nothing: but this may be more easily explained to you by example, than delivered to you by precept. I put the last confidence in you, when I give you an instance of this in my own works. You know it was my affair to erase out of the opinion of the Audience all suspicion of guilt, which I did after the following manner:

“ But, my Lords, there is still a way allowed
 “ of vindicating myself. It is generally nega-
 “ tive; that is, by protesting and declaring
 “ my innocence to your Lordships in the most
 “ deliberate, serious, and solemn manner; and
 “ appealing to God, the Searcher of Hearts,

“ as

“ as to the truth of what I say, as I do it in
 “ what follows. I am charged in the Report
 “ with directing a correspondence to Mr.
 “ KELLY ; but I solemnly deny that I ever, di-
 “ rectly or indirectly, saw a single line of any
 “ of their letters till I met with them in print.
 “ Nor were the contents of them communicated
 “ to me. I do, in the next place, deny that I
 “ was ever privy to any memorial to be drawn
 “ up to be delivered to the Regent. Nor was I
 “ ever acquainted with any attempt to be made
 “ on the King’s going over to Hanover, or at
 “ the time of the election : nor did I hear the
 “ least rumour of the Plot, to take place after
 “ the breaking-up of the camp, till some time
 “ after Mr. LAYER’s commitment. I do, with
 “ the same solemnity, declare, that I never col-
 “ lected, remitted, received, or asked, any mo-
 “ ney of any man to facilitate these designs ;
 “ nor was I ever acquainted with, or had any re-
 “ mittances whatsoever from, any of those per-
 “ sons ; that I never remitted or drew any de-
 “ claration, minutes, or paper, in the name of
 “ the Pretender, as is expressly charged upon
 “ me. And that I never knew of any commis-
 “ sion issued, preparation of arms, officers, or
 “ soldiers, or the methods taken to procure
 “ any, in order to raise an insurrection in these
 “ kingdoms. All this I declare to be true,
 “ and will so declare to the last gasp of my
 “ breath.”

Now

Now you are to observe these words, *deliberate, serious, and solemn manner, appealing to the Searcher of all Hearts*; and then again *directly or indirectly*, are terms which amaze and amuse the hearers, and divert them from observing the illusion; wherein I say, I never saw a single line of those letters till I saw them in print. The immediate and plain answer had been, “I never directly or indirectly *dictated* any letter to Mr. KELLY;” but I took care never to see them after I had dictated them, and therefore was able to say what I have there said. It is certainly just the same thing as to point of conscience; for there the truth is to be uttered, and every thing that does not make for the right information of the Audience is equally criminal with a plain lie. This I say, lest you should think I did not know the force of what I uttered; and is a thing to be said but between you and me, to whom the reputation of Understanding is preferable to that of Integrity; and therefore I ended with this: “All this I declare to be true, and will so declare to the last gasp of my breath.”

Declaring to the last gasp of my breath has in it a solemnity that mightily affects fools, who are frightened with bugbears; and has an incredible influence when it comes from a Clergyman; a character which is held indelible: insomuch that now they have turned me out of my revenue, they still allow me a Bishop of the Universal

verfal Church ! Which I may fay, *inter nos*, is allowing that ill actions may incapacitate a man for any office but that which requires the beft of men. For this reafon I wifh I could have your company for one fortnight, becaufe I would ordain you ; and then you might do as I have done before you, fquabble, debate, bully, cant, or live juft as you do, and do no hurt to your character, at leaft fo as to deftroy it.

I am extremely obliged to you for the advantageous character you have given me in your Writings ; but you fhould not have fallen upon a certain Great Man in the fame paper, for you may be fure he will rejoice in an inveftive from that hand that gives me a panegyrick. In your TRUE BRITON, N^o V. pointing at him, you fay, “ In C. 64. he carries his infinuations much
 “ higher, and fuggelts that even the Great Man,
 “ who chufes to deferve honours rather than
 “ receive them, would give little oppofition to
 “ the Pretender’s meafures ; but this is fo fo-
 “ reign to truth, and fo contrary to the whole
 “ ferics of that Gentleman’s life, that it were
 “ taking up the time of my readers unneces-
 “ farily to expofe the falfhood and villainy of
 “ fuch an affertion. The *villainy* of fuch an
 affertion was an expreffion a little too ftrong ;
 for though you very well do not care a farthing
 for what people think of you, while you can
 enjoy the comfort of no confcience, yet you
 fhould regard appearances ; for to as many as
 think

think you inserted that paragraph, to suggest the Great Man would in such case give little opposition to the Pretender's measures, you unguardedly call yourself what you know yourself to be, the Enemy will say, for making so improbable an insinuation. But all these things might do, if I had you with me to give you the indelible character, for with that my *fornication* with MOLL PAULIN when a young Student was as consistent as *High Treason* against King GEORGE when a prelate. You have, indeed, an excellent talent for the gown, that is to say, as the gown is a covering to what the lower world call offences. But, my dear Son, let me beg of you, if it is not already too late, to avoid that meek text with which I ended my banter to the Lords, "Naked I came out of my mother's womb, and naked I shall return." I can assure you, this had been a very uncomfortable text, if it had not been for some ladies; to whom pray give my most humble service.

I am,

Yours,

ILLINGTON.

PASQUIN,

P A S Q U I N, N° LI.

FRIDAY, July 26, 1723.

*Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra, citraque nequit consistere rectum.*

HOR. I Sat. i. 105.

“ Once past the bounds, which to the Mean belong,
“ This way or that, he slides into the wrong.”

NEVILLE.

I Shall not at present talk with the TRUE-BRITON in the style of PASQUIN, nor concern myself whether he is a man of this or the other quality; but take leave to aver, that, if he is at all a Subject of England, he has injudiciously and outrageously offended against every person in the Kingdom, in his last Paper. “ The Liberty of the Press is the Preservation “ of the Liberty of the State;” but it is not to be used with such a licence, as to trample upon all orders of men; and thereby not only lose all benefit by it, but be exposed to all it should guard us against. The honest use of it is the best security from any encroachments of Courts

Courts and Ministers : therefore, lest this Writer's insolence and inadvertency may be an argument against it, I chuse this way to chastise his offences against the Press, by the Press, that his notorious injuries may not turn to the prejudice of Printing itself.

He begins his imagined ridicule upon the whole Bench of Bishops; whom he calls "the surprize of other nations, and curiosities of our own;" and goes on to say of them with the same force of genius, "Many of their predecessors equalled them in *composure*; but all impartial Criticks concur, that none of them had talents half so well adapted to *Translation*: whilst He, whose company they a little while ago, with so much *prudence*, as well as justice, rejected, was confessedly *not upon a level* with them in either." As saucily as this Author speaks of the Bishops in general, the whole Nation are highly satisfied with their learning, their piety, and good sense; and know them to be an excellent body of Protestant Divines, who are more regardful of the rights and privileges of their fellow-subjects, than any pre-eminency of their own; nor is there any part of Learning they want by the absence of the Bishop of ROCHESTER, except that now he is gone, they could not write so good an Epigram, if it were put upon them to produce one: for it was the peculiar excellence of that Prelate, to keep alive in himself the kind
of

of Learning we are admired for when boys, and play it against his adversaries in his ripe or declining age; from which he would with great readiness, no matter what decency, skip to a Text of Scripture, and enjoy the advantage of the Bishop, and the vivacity and pertness of the School-boy, at the same time. Such a prompt and ready excellence, joined with a consummate hypocrisy and glaring impudence, which my Lord had to a great perfection, could not fail of gaining almost as many admirers as he saw men; for it required deep penetration to understand him to be any other than a very fine person; since he could thus retire from the Man of Wit, in which he was *somebody*, to the Pious Divine, in which he was *nobody*. But now his character is so thoroughly understood, that I agree with the TRUE BRITON, “The
 “unanimity of the Nation is such as it was
 “hardly ever blessed with before! For since
 “the departure of the late Bishop of RO-
 “CHESTER into exile, it is universally agreed
 “on, that there is One Man now abroad,
 “whom no man desires to see come back
 “again.”

The Author goes on; and, with his prodigious wit and contrivance, turns the invective against Churchmen into a singular purpose of making it under the cover of what he had met with in a Library in Spain: “He thinks he
 “had it in the Franciscan Library at Madrid.”—
 “A little before, and about the time that the

“light of the Reformation began to dawn,
 “there was not such a pack of abject wretches
 “in the world, as the Ecclesiasticks of most
 “countries. To confirm this, I shall oblige
 “the curious with part of a Manuscript I
 “picked up in my Travels into Spain. It had
 “no date, but it is plain it could not be writ
 “many centuries ago.”

With the deep design of having finished all he had to say of State affairs, he “comes to Church and Churchmen with that openness and freedom as becomes a candid Historian.” But here he levels his whole invective against DON FERDINANDO, who was Comptroller of the Finances, for whom he makes a very silly speech about “Quadrupeds having four legs.” He had done with Churchmen before, and called them plainly enough “abject wretches;” so that now his wit is to fall only on the Comptroller. But he should have considered whom he had undertook to mimic, and made an harangue accordingly; for this speech has nothing in it but the daring to point out a great man in a high employment, after a ridiculous manner; and then making the Bishops also out of all character talk prophanely, and solemnly affirming that “Two and two make fifteen—So help us, G—d;”—“Demonstration by G—d;”—and “Crucify him, Crucify him.” All which is so mean, so silly, and so wicked, that it will scarcely bear so much as to be repeated. This writer puts me in mind of the “Tale of a
 “Tub,”

“Tub,” where there is a great deal of humour mixt with an equal negligence of every thing solemn. But the wretched Imitator, as it is ordinary with common swearers, has no spirit but what is raised from his impiety. He cannot ridicule a great officer, but he must prophane the name of Heaven to come at him; and represents the whole Bench of Bishops as his *Ringwoods* and *Fowlers*.

It is of no consequence who this great Wit, this worthy Author is. It is certain he has a little more to do than to make up with a Minister of State. But I must not grow too ferious with this facetious Gentleman; but shall give him a letter of advice how to mingle his thoughts and sentiments, if he would have them pass upon the world for any thing.

To the TRUE BRITON.

S I R,

As you have lately done justice to a great man in disowning yourself to be him, we are not to take you for any body; but consider you as an enemy to us all, and tearing about you, without keeping any terms with persons or things; but labouring for something that is smart, that is bold, that is witty, or some way surprizing, to keep our attention close to you, and engage us either by our curiosity, our spleen, our malice, or our envy. But you are, it seems, a COUNTRY GENTLEMAN; and as

such you should have considered, that the Comptroller can be when he pleases an equal to a Country Gentleman, though it is not so easy for a Country Gentleman to be equal to the Comptroller. He can speak extremely well, and certainly does it with a great deal of art and skill, or he had not been the man he is; for in our Government a person must have talents, or it is impossible for him to possess great power. But you have fallen upon him, as envying his good fortune only; and have not at all shewn that he does not deserve it, or that he misapplies it. Then there are some things which a man should not be endured to touch upon; as your cruel usage of him you call JERONIMO, who has offended no one, and can deserve your envy only for being the son of an illustrious man, who devolves the effect of his labours upon him, whilst he himself is still wrestling and contending with the enemies of his country, with great capacity and application. You should have learnt to distinguish things a little before you commenced Writer; for it is not the Countryman that is fit for these things. *Rusticus ab normis sapius* will never be able to talk of Ministers and their designs; and barely to hate a great Man because he is so, will do nothing but expose the weakness of your head, and the malignity of your heart.

I am, &c.

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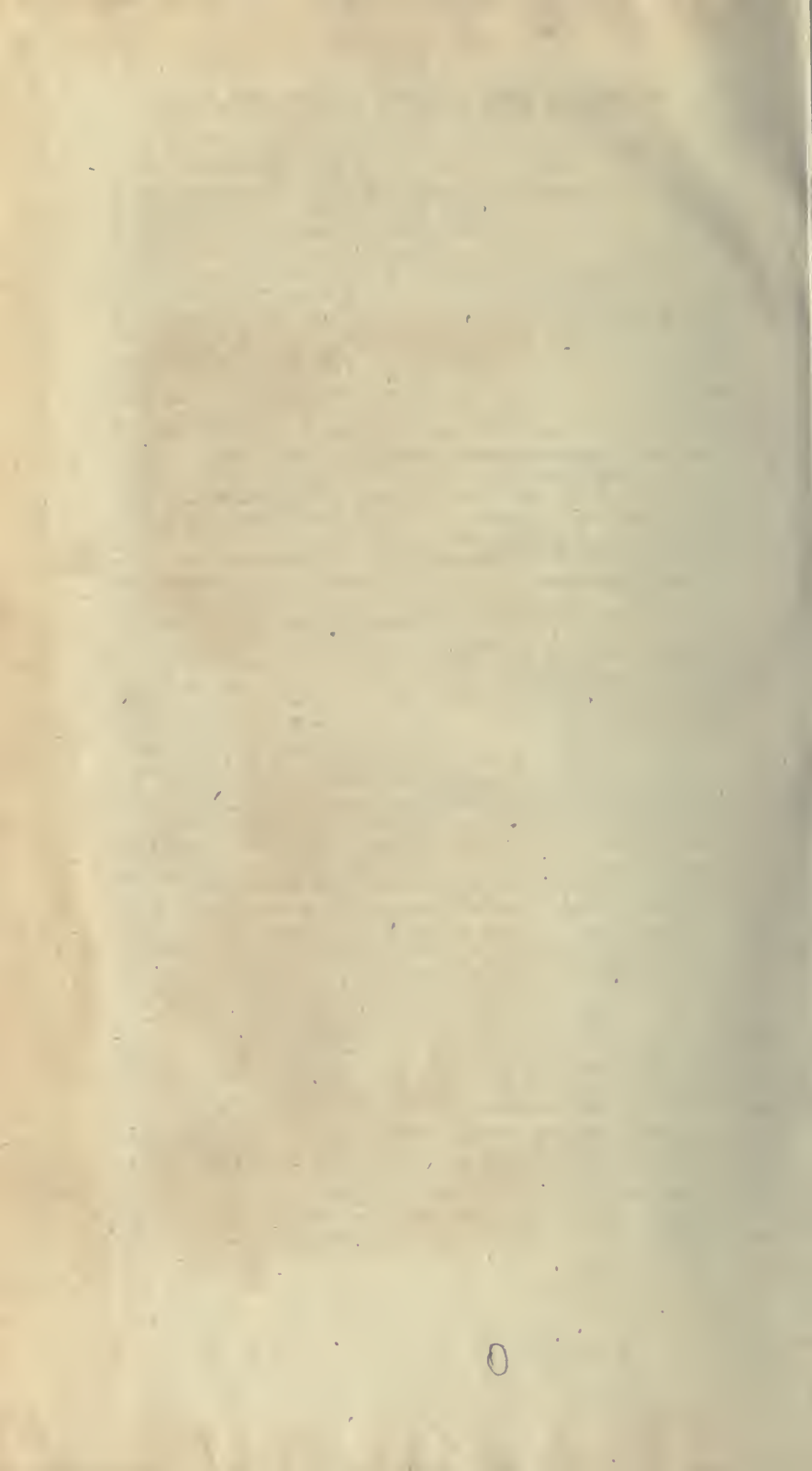
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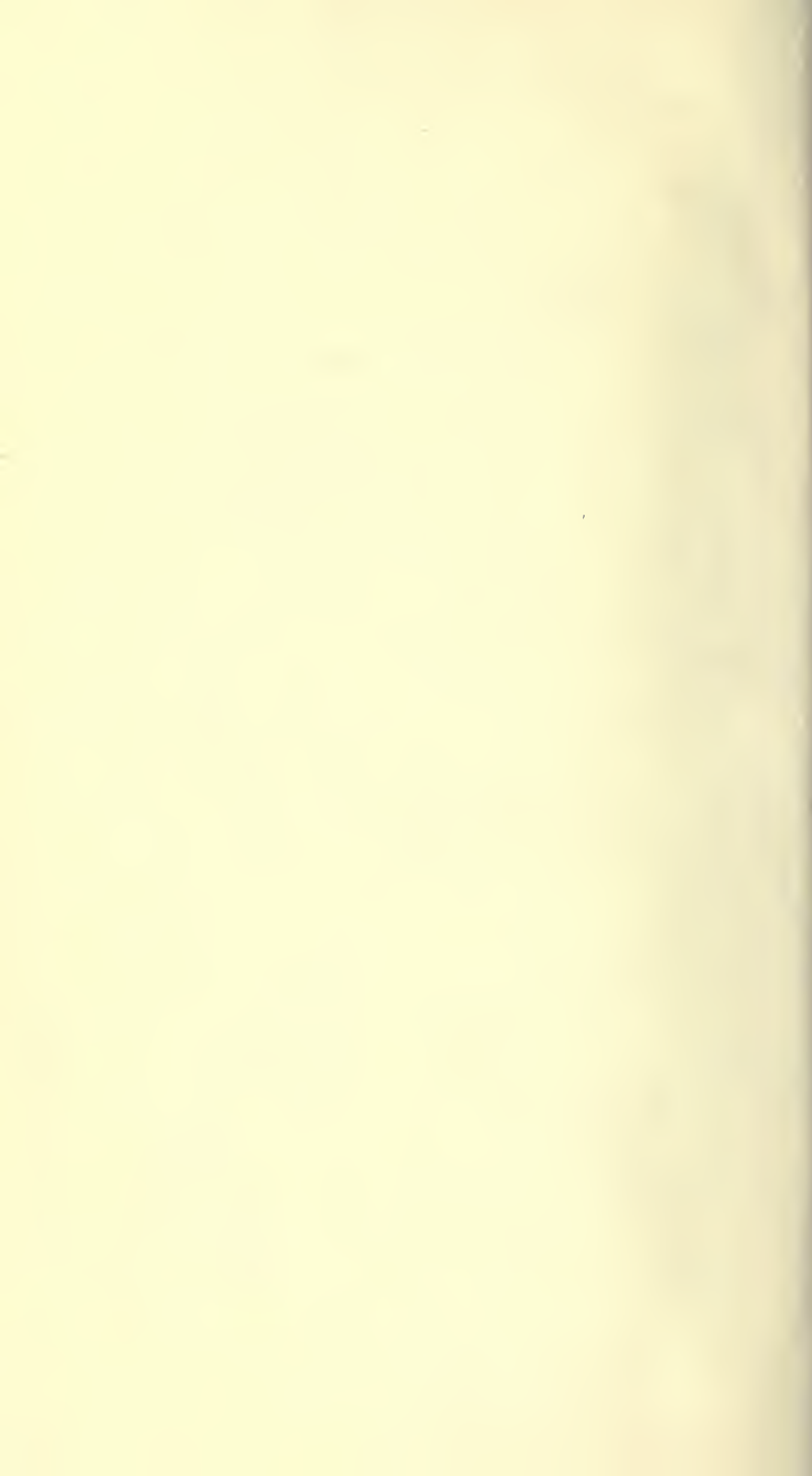
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